



¶ The names of the Authors from whome this
Historie of England is collected.

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
 Aelius Lampridius.
 Affricus Meneuensis.
 Alfridus Benerlacensis.
 Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
 Auentinus.
 Adam Merimouth with additions.
 Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
 Albertus Crantz. Alexander Neuill.
 Arnoldus Ferronius.
 Annus Viterbienfis.
 Amianus Marcellinus.
 Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Prin-
 ces de France.
 Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
 Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme
 Paradin.
 Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
 Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jaco-
 bum Meir.
 Antonius Sabellicus.
 Antonius Nebricenfis. Aurea Historia.

B.

Biblia Sacra. Beda venerabilis.
 Berosus. Brian Tuke knight.
 Blondus Forliuensis.
 Berdmundsey, a Register booke belonging
 to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
 Cornelius Tacitus.
 Chronica Chronicorum.
 Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales
 belonging to the Abbey there.
 Chronicon Io. Tili.
 Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to
 that colledge, although compiled by some
 Northernman, as some suppose named
 Otheborne.
 Chronicles of S. Albon.
 Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales
 belonging to that house.
 Chronica de Teukesburie.
 Claudianus.
 Chronicon Genebrard.
 Chroniques de Normandie.
 Chroniques de Britaine.
 Chroniques de Flanders published by De-
 nis Saunge.

Continuation de Historie and Chroniques
 de Flanders by the same Saunge.
 Couper. Cuspinianus.
 Chronica Sancti Albani.
 Caxtons Chronicles.
 Carion with additions.
 Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to
 an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
 Dion Cassius.
 Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
 Eusebius. Eutropius.
 Encomium Emma, an old Pamphlet writ-
 ten to hir, containing much good matter
 for the vnderstanding of the state of this
 realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is
 not pretermitted, and so hath obtained
 by reason thereof that title.
 Enguerant de Monsirellet.
 Eulogium.
 Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. Froissart.
 Franciscus Tarapha.
 Franciscus Petrarcha.
 Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
 Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Guiciardini Francisco.
 Guiciardini Ludouico.
 Gildas Sapiens.
 Galfridus Monemutensis, alias Geffrey of
 Monmouth.
 Giraldus Cambrensis.
 Guilielmus Malmesburienfis.
 Galfridus Vinsauf.
 Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
 Guilielmus Thorne.
 Gualterus Hemmingford, alias Gifbur-
 nensis.
 Geruasius Dorobernensis.
 Geruasius Tilberienfis.
 Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Nor-
 manie.
 Guilielmus Rishanger.
 Guilielmus Lambert. Georgius Lillie.
 Guilamme Paradin.

The Authors names.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonensis.
Henricus Leicestrensis.
Hector Boece. Historie Daniou.
Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.
Henricus Mutius.
Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. Henricus Bradshaw.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Herodianus. Humphrey Luyd.

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. Iulius Solinus.
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
John Price knight. Iohannes Textor.
Iohannes Bodinus. Iohannes Sleidan.
Iohannes Euerfden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgrau.
Iohannes Fourden. Iohannes Caius.
Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nemo.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there.
John Fox. Iohannes Maior.
John Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. Iosephus.

L.

Liber constitutionum London.
Lucan. Lelius Giraldu.

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthaus Paris.*
Matthaus Westmonaster. alias Flores historiarum.
Martin du Bellay, alias Mons. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Orosius *Dorobernensis.*
Osbernus Dorobernensis.
Otho Phrisingensis.

P.

Pausanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. Pomponius Letus.
Philip de Cumeins, alias M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. Paulus Iouius.
Platina. Philippus Melanethon.
Peucerus. Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higden, alias Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheshall. Radulfus Niger.
Register of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. Robert Greene.
Radulfus de Diceto. Robert Gaguin.
Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerse.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Sidon Appollinaris. Simon Dunelmensis.
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Trebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. Thomas Walsingham.
Titus Liuius de Foroliuensis de vita Henrici. 5. Titus Liuius Pataniensis.
Thomas Lanquet. Thomas Couper.
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. Theuet.
Thomas de la More. Tripartita Historia.

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Wetthamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harrison.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historically matter I haue seene and perused, the names of the authors being vterly vnknowne.

FINIS.



To the Right Honorable, and his singular good

Lord and Maister, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of

the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare

and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,

infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable

renowme here in this world, and in the world to come
life euerlasting.



Having had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my freends, to set downe some breefe discourse of parcell of those things, which I had obserued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my self vnable for want of skill and iudgement, so suddenlie & with so hastie speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, bicause the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatise: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earnest studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this trauell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilest I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that should satisfie their request; and stand in lieu of a description of my Countrey. For their parts also they assured me of such helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogether vnto memorie, with my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other busineses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had sometime collected of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes: secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now and then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names and courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set forth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrey, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie coming by fundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honour regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set forth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoeuer it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter to handle the selfe same argument, if in my life time I doo not peruse it againe. It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and cy-sight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles forthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scrambled vp after this manner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set forth such profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies benefited me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill fauouredlie espie than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans dooings than publish any thing of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preferue your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning) and the rest of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

*Your Lordships humble seruant
and honsbold Chaplein. W. H.*



A Table of such Chapiters as are contained
in the first booke of this Description.

- 1 Of the diuision of the whole earth.
- 2 Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
- 3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
- 4 What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
- 5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
- 6 Of the languages spoken in this Iland.
- 7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
- 8 The names of such kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
- 9 Of the ancient religion vsed in Albion.
- 10 Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine.
- 11 Of riuers, and first of the Thames, and such riuers as fall into it.
- 12 Of such streames as fall into the sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
- 13 The description of the Sauerne, and such waters as discharge themselues into the same.
- 14 Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
- 15 The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.
- 16 Of such fals of waters as ioine with the sea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
- 17 Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.
- 18 Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.
- 19 Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
- 20 Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.
- 21 How Britaine at the first grew to be diuided into three portions.
- 22 After what maner the souereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
- 23 Of the wall sometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Pi&ts and Scots.
- 24 Of the maruels of England.



REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES & catalogus.

Wil. Conqu.
 Wil. Rufus.
 Henricus 1.
 Stephanus.
 Henricus 2.
 Richardus 1.
 Ioannes.
 Henricus 3.
 Eduardus 1.
 Eduardus 2.
 Richardus 2.
 Henricus 4.
 Henricus 5.
 Henricus 6.
 Eduardus 4.
 Eduardus 5.
 Richardus 3.
 Henricus 7.
 Henricus 8.
 Eduardus 6.
 Phil. & Mari.
 Elisabeth.

Conquestor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanisque,
 Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
 Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
 Eduardus primus, Gnatuſque, Neposque sequuntur:
 His infelicem Richardum iunge secundum:
 Henricus quartus soboles Gandavi Ioannis,
 Præcedit Gnato quinto, sextoque Nepoti:
 Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
 Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
 Eduardus sextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
 Elisabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
 Serâque promisso felix portatur olympo.

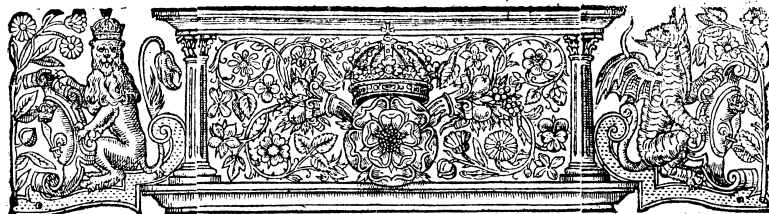
CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON

Thomæ Newtoni Cestreshyrij.

Gramine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
 Læbæ, feris, armis, vrribus, arte, foris,
 Quæ viget ac floret generosa Britannia, quæque,
 Obruta puluere o squalluit ante situ:
 Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
 Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
 Et quod blæsa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
 Illud habet rectum pumice tersa nouo.

Loydus.
 Lelandus.
 Prifus.
 Stous.
 Holinsbedius.
 Lambardus.
 Morus.
 Camdenus.
 Thinnius.
 Hallus.
 Vocalis aliâs
 Hookerus.
 Graftonus.
 Foxius.
 Harrisonus.
 Hardingus.
 Gildas.
 Stanierstus.
 Beda.
 Neuillus.
 Flemingus.
 Parkerus.

Loydus in hac pridem gnauus prolusit arena,
 Lelandus, Prifus, Stous, Holinsbedius,
 Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
 Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harrisonus,
 Hardingus, Gildas, Stanierstus, Beda, Neuillus,
 Doctâque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
 Nec te cane senex, magne ô Parkere, silebo,
 Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
 Omnibus his meritò est laus debita & optima merces,
 Quod patriæ accendant lumina clara sue.
 Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longa æua senectus,
 Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.



An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with a brieue reherfall of the nature and qualities of the people of England, and such commodities as are to be found in the same. Comprehended in three bookes, and written by W. H.

Of the diuision of the whole earth. Chapter. 1.



Noah first
diuided the
earth among
his sonnes.

W read that the earth hath bene diuided into three parts, euen sithens the generall flood. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preserved with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuer thelesse reteining the soueraintie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those severall parts were bounded, and from whence they toke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places woonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westertie regions of late discovered (and now called America) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appereth.

The diuision
of the
earth not
yet certain-
ly knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Spertine mores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Spediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythraeum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; because a no lesse part than the greatest of the three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discovered by the diligence of our traouellers. Whereby it appereth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they induoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peere of this confusion also is to be found amongst the

ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors; not being able (as appereth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Salust in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his *De lingua Latina* is not a little encumbered, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolved wherevnto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Asia latet, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane lib. 9. sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saing after this maner:

*Tertia pars rerum Lybia: sciredere fuma
Cuncta velis, si ventos celsumque sequaris,
Par: erit Europa, nec enim plus litora Nilis.*

Quam Scythicum Tanais primis a gradibus absint.

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolved of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I endeavour not to remove the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue forth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into five severall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streits, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discovered by Frobisher, and called by him *Spasie* *Meta incognita*: but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrees Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, & far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnted and laid together. The fifth & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streits; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthe to be called the fifth: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betwene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid prick, yet is it not with-
out

Clarence
among the
writers a-
bout the di-
uision of the
earth.

The earth
diuided into
five parts,
whereas
Belforest
hath but
four, in
Prefat. lib. 4.

Cape di bona
Speranza.

The forme
of the fifth
part.

out sundrie Islands also adjoining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath bene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, even in maner to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselves by the ingratitude of the Portugals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should seeme to open a gap by doing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Islands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c. with a number of other, I refer them still vnto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrees eastward from the line of longitude, & not about 80. as I do the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said portion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yielding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Island) saith;

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,

And some other authours not vntowith to be read and perused, it is not certaine vnto which portion of the earth our Islands, and Shule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you see) from the rest of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwile (without prejudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euery attempt. But so much as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I do write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and upright order; though methow now and then do faile, I will go forward with my induow, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other do conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Islands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: wherevnto some good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

Of the position, circuit, forme and quantity of the Ile of Britaine.

Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.



Britannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our English tongue, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, diractlie ouer against that

part of France which containeth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or fleeing thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Island) did settle themselves there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, even to Shule and the Hyperbozeans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe daily through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserable afflicted betwene the Spanish powder and popish inquisition (as spice betwene the mortar and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friceland, Denmarke, and Portugale, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall countries do yield: through which meanes, and besides common amitie conferred, traffike is maintained, and the necessitie of each partie abundantly releued.

It containeth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees exactlie; and in latitude 53. degrees, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Holmbeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembrieng the names of sundrie cities and towncs, whereby they affirme them to haue their seuerall courses: for my part I haue thought good to proceed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerleie and Selewicall vpon Aine, (whose longest day consisteth of firtene houres, 48. minutes) and for the longitude, Selewberie, Wiltshire, Shesfield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certaine standing and situation of our Island.

Touching the length and breadth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornetwall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other do gather, that the circuit of the whole Island of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Caesar doth set downe, except there be some difference betwene the Romane and Britissh miles, as there is indeed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

Martianus writing of the breadth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Echiuc also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he comineth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion in Seuro maketh the one of 891. milest but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narrowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to containe 7000 furlongs, the second; to wit, a Carione ad Promontorium 15000. the thirde 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornetwall, not to be about 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which notwithstanding must be measured by a right line; for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

The forme and fashion of this Ile is thre cornered, as some haue deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partefant, being broadest in the south part,

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

Longest day.

The compass of Britaine.

The forme.

The description of Britaine.

3

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathness nothward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in manner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morwerdyth, which is not above 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actual trauell both confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestum, Ocrinum; Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seek out their true places, wherof as yet I am in manner ignorant, I meane for the most part; because I haue no sound author that doth leade me to their knowledge.

The distance from the maine.

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petresia and Scalas, though some like better of blackness where the breadth of the sea is not above thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and used for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realmes, so it hath not bene unknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part used these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuers of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwiche, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betwene Hyde and Lid; to wit, Komneie marsh, which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to avoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betwene the part of Holland also, which lieth nere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Solinus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being converted into English miles, doe yeeld 112. and foure odd furlongs, whereby the last distance of the nearest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinly appere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland.

Cap. 3.

Dis. Samothres.

If the diligent perusal of these treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdomes, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothres, one of the sonnes of Iaphet was the Saviour or original beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothres. Afterward in proceesse of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and each prince endeouored to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (because his dominions late among the Ilands of the Mediterran sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds nere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hills nearer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voyage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the re-

The first conquest of Britaine.

port that went of this Iland, it was not long after per he invaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finally changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothres did grow out of mind, and fall into utter forgetfulness. And thus was this Iland bereft at one time both of his ancient name, and also of his lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Iaphet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeares and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appere.

Britaine under the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the determination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same ab Ollys, or as he imagineth it, ab Allys galis. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gorthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vidania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tangquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta significth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse doe often strae, because they wot not whither they go: euen so do these men, whilst they seeke to extenuate the certeinie of our histories, and bring vs altogether to vncertainties & their coniectures. They in like manner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanish colonie, doe greatly belwaie their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeouore to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Dioclesian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogether impertinent. Wherefore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of navigation (as navigation then went) he was reputed the most skillfull prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and like wise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as travelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they used to naile them ouer with raton hides of bulles, buffes, and such like, and with such a kind of naue (as they say) first Samothres, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, doe not naile their ships with iron, which they utterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with ball ropes, others, rinds of trees, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuerthelesse are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime used in our Britaine, and covered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, lib. 7. cap. 56. as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Whether haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuier Indus, but to his losse, for he was overcome by hir power, & his naue either drowned or burned by the furie of his souldiers.

Neptune God of the sea.

The manner of building of ships in old time.

B. J.

But

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers, not vntoorthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celtes, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Olyssis his grandfater had placed ouer the Zanigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable manner. Whereouer he was not a little incouraged in these his doings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leane his xxxij. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceived this opinion, that if they had once gotten fot into any region whatsoener, it would not be long per they did by some meanes or other, not onelie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselves and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and laine the aforesaid Olyssis, onelie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Laban, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other overcome the Lomnini or Gerionnes in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celtes in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also married his daughter Calathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Dyachades (where he also reigned as supreme lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arrived there, it was not long per they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the river called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betwene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in manner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Whereupon Hercules perceiving the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both laine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered from an vsurper (that dallie incroched vpon him, building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that tide) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Jupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Olyssis) is

feigned to throw downe stones from heathen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and laine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Island died not, but still remained vnto the time of Britte, who arriving here in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had bene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereignie ouer the rest of the Isles also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same manner, so that Albion was said in time to be *Britanniarum insula maxima*, that is, The greatest of those Isles that beare the name of Britaine, which Britanie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second booke denieth not. There are some, which bitterlie denieng that this Island took hir name of Britte, doe affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, *Ob immensam affluentiam totius delicta atque vberata*, that was to be found herein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willingly leane vnto none of them in peremptorie manner, with the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Brittona the nymph, in following Lector (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Brittona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parchenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large reherfall.

It is altogether impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Island after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument sene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called *Tromontorium Hercula* in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries doe gather great likelihood that he should also be here. But with his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue bene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an obtriple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie available, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had bene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well seme so to haue bene, because that before the generall flood of Noah, we doe not read of Islands, more than of hills and ballies. Wherefore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likely that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the flood, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liue in Islands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the speedie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

Lestrigo.

Zanigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxiij. sonnes.

Lomnini, Gerionnes.

Calathea. Galates or Celtes.

Bergion.

Pomponius Met. cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

bited hostile after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each captiue and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritic, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the uttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had sene and belued their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Greeces for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the wordes of Aristotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brutus, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britania, as appeareth also by Ptolemy, &c. before the coming of Cesar.

After Brutus I do not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeouored, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise took no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ebert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue forth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angel-land, for which in our time we do pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, bitterlie mistaking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ebert, because his ancessours descended from the Angles one of the fire nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Iules otherwise called Iutons, Vites, Gotes or Gotes, and Danes, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, because of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arrived here before anie of the other) and thereto hauing now the monarchie and preheminnence in manner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Quene named Angla, neither whatsoever derivation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to do at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Bel-ford, lib. 3. cap. 44.

What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.

Cap. 4.



As few or no nations can iustlie boast themselves to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue off allured sundrie princes and famous captiues of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Manie sorts of people therefore haue come in hither and settled themselves here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samoths in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Whobbeit in procelle of time, and after they had indifferently replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was done in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repared hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding

Samoths was.

from Cham, and not onclie annered the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreme thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than five hundred and two yeares, came Brutus the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 24. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the seed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferiour owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and captiues as he in his arriual here had led out of Grecia with him.

Britains, Chemminits.

From henceforth I do not find any sound report of other nation whatsoever, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romanes emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did after ward plant themselves for altogether nere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they named after those of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also else-where, as in his second booke a litle after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiatius king of the Swessions living in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was after ward dispossessed. But after the coming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were dailie pestered, almost in euery sted. For as they planted their forwoyne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safeguard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then living in the world. Whobbeit, I thinke it best, because they did all beare the title of Romans, to retein onelie that name for them all, albeit they were twofull guests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all manner of vice and vicious living, all riot and exccesse of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitours.

Romanes.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scythian and Spanishe blood, should arrive here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scythian Hyperboreans, as yet it is uncerteine. For though the Scotish histories do carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue sholne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselves pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselves also in Britaine; so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finally called in by the Picts or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselves in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scythian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they used commonlie to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skelues, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cessars time. For both

Scots, Picts.

B. 4.

Dio-

Diodorus *lib. 6.* and Strabo *lib. 4.* doe seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort doth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properly the Scots) to be the onelie enemies of our nation, before the comming of Caesar, as appeareth in his peregrinall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie doth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Island. Certainlie I maruell much why they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doe speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speaketh *Aduersus Iovinianum, lib. 2.* who used to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Span, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another prooffe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, because their Island & originall inhabitation thereof were unknowne, and they themselves an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshanks and Pictones) that they were settled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Caesar, and comming of the Scots. Which is prooffe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Island out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doe report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforesaid Islands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eye vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to inuade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Caesar saith that they stained their faces with woad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enemies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britons. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britons did, of whom Propertius saith,

Nunc etiam infectis denum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraictures of beasts, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Bascanda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothres and Albion, haue some likelie limitation; and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Caesar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finally of the Flemmings, (who had the Hesse in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Island, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arrival is as far to me unknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine in tenebris. This neuertheless is certaine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperor, gaue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Isles, and the North part of the maine, and finally divided their region betwene the Britains and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their

land: but they craving the peace, yielded to subscribe, that from thenceforth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enemies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they daile practised vpon our coastes (after they had once begun to aduenture themselves also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had already spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous manner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Island, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come under Hengist in three bottoms or keeles, and in short time espeng the idle and negligent behaviour of the Brittaines, and fertilltie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Hereupon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countymen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, so that within a while these new comings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the leastwise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogether out of the Island to seeke new habitations.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succeeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Island, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their friends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselves also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuile: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and insatiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chaste matrons, and yong virgins (whose husbands and parents were daile enforced to become their dynges and slaves, whilst they sat at home and fed like drone bees of the sweet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breathe vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull liues, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countymen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Island than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, because the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheless, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-ryc, because that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Ost-ryc, which is called the East region, as Jewstria is the West: for Ryc in the old Scythian tong doth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-ryc, or Franc-reich, Westfaron-reich, Ost-faron-reich, Su-ryc, Angel-ryc, &c. is else to be seene. But howsoeuer this falleth out, these Normans

The hurt by foreign aid.

Danes.

The Normans.

The description of Britaine.

7

as Danish French, were debile aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betwene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Carle of Bullein, and William Duke of Normandie, arrived in this land to visit him, & their friends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this land, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Cantuarburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outrageous demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and upon occasion of the bzall hapning at Dover (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogether in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English priest then living in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their dissliking in manifest maner. Neuertheless, the Normans so belittled the king with their lying and boasting, Robert the Archbishop being the chiefe instrument of their practise, that he belied them, and thereupon bered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwyn of Kent was the chiefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the marriage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and sue of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and some after returning with his said sonnes, they invaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe coming to London, where when the kings power was ready to ioine with him in battell, it utterly refused so to do: affirming plainelie, that it should be meere folke for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarrels: which answer entred so deepe into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vsphot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate. By this meane therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie received by the English. Wherupon as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saved a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England into Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlsco of Lincoln, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselves, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Dover, because of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their hearts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that baile cut into a flame, so soon as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obtained, and to set his mischiefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certaine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Carle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with

Archbishop of Cantuarburie, and the rest of the French.

the Carle. In proceesse also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Carle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogether false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, wzitten by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie friend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incantis agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreover, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recover his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yielded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, upon the same onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Carle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Duene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this boile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembered still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this land. After which obtained, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and overthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slave than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthy businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superior to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their greedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was utterly taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, because we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourable vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburrows in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrees of English and Brittish were made slaves and bondmen, and bought and sold as oren in open market! In so much that at the first coming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this land hath not onelie bene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be diuinen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like utterly to haue bene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald lastelie made Earle of Drenford, sonne to Goodwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in marriage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue bene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

Earle Goodwin slained by the French by the sword.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this bondage the said Harald builded Doxta, which Canadoch ap Giffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the earle, that Harald kept therein.

needs haue suffred the vttermoſt confuſion, and there by the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue perished among vs.

Thus we ſee how England hath ſix times bene ſubiet to the reproch of conqueſt. And whereas the Scots ſeeme to challenge manie famous victories alſo ouer vs, beſide grieuous impositions, tributs, & diſhonorable compositions: it ſhall ſuffice for anſwer, that they deale in this as in the moſt part of their hiſtorie, which is to ſeake great honor by lying, & great renowne by prating and craking. Indeed they haue done great miſchiefe in this Iſland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conqueſt the firſt is yet to heare of. Diuers other conqueſts alſo haue bene pretended by ſundry princes ſithence the conqueſt, onelie to the end that all priſtinate lawes and ſenures of poſſeſſion might ceaſe, and they make a new diſpoſition of all things at their owne pleaſure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it tooke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheleſſe was at the laſt though hardlie dratwne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Juſtice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had ſome better ſhew of right, but yet without effect. And the laſt of all by M. Marie, as ſome of the papiffs gaue out, and alſo would haue had hir to haue obtained, but God alſo ſtaied their malices, and hir challenge. But beſide the ſix afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old hiſtographer ſpeaketh of a ſeuenth, likelie (as he ſaith) to come one daie out of the poſt, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, ſith nothing is to be had in thoſe parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the hiſtorie of S. Albons, and aforeſaid author which lieth on the left ſide of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophecies as one that doubteth from what ſpirit they doe proceed, or who ſhould be the author of them.

Whether it be likelie that any giants
were, and whether they inhabited
in this Ile or not.
Cap. 5.

BEſides theſe aforeſaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iſland, we read of ſundry giants that ſhould inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogether incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by the name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſeemeth ſo ſtrange a reherſall, that for the ſame onelie cauſe they ſuſpect the credit of our whole hiſtorie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They alſo condemne the like in all other hiſtories, eſpeciallie of the poſt, where men are naturallie of greateſt ſtature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus doe make mention, & whoſe bones doe yet remaine to be ſene as rare miracles in nature. Of theſe alſo ſome in their life time were able to liſt vp (as they write) a veſſell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horſe, or an ore, & caſt it on their ſhoulders (wherein their beſte women haue bene likewiſe knowne to come nere vnto them) and of the race of thoſe men, ſome were ſene of no leſſe ſtrength in the 1000. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the ſame of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchaſe of a diſpenſation to marrie with his kinſwoman (a woman alſo of much more than common ſtature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can ſaie verie much euen by their

owne knowledge. Wherefore it appeareth by preſent experience, that all is not abſolute lie vntrue which is remembered of men of ſuch giants. For this cauſe therefore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breue diſcourſe inſuing, as endeavouring thereby to proue, that the opinion of giants is not altogether grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the cares of the hearers with the report of marvellous things: but that there haue bene ſuch men indeed, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather high towers than moſtall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtrous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge.

I doe not meane herein to diſpute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, than for their greatneſſe of bodie, or large ſteps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this preſent) or becauſe their parents were not knowne, for ſuch in old time were called *Terra filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onelie ſignifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet abſolute lie I denie neither of theſe, ſith verie probable reaſons may be brought for ech of them, but eſpeciallie the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of ſundry ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in ſtrength and manhood, and yet doe not giue the ſame name vnto them, becauſe their quarrels were iuſt, and commonlie taken in hand for deſenſe of the oppreſſed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe worſhipping declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomach. Such alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often overcome, and as it were vtterlie vanquiſhed by the ſaid Hercules, yet if he did eſtones returne againe into his kingdome, he ſomewhat recovered his force, returned and held Hercules ſacke, till he gat at the laſt betwene him and home, ſo cutting off the farther hope of the reſtitution of his armie, and killing ſhallie his aduerſarie in the field, of which victory Polician writeth thus:

*Incaluere animis dura certare palaſtra,
Neptuni quondam filium atque Iouis;
Non certamen erant operoſo ex ære lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ſeruat interitum:
Occidit Antæum Ioue natum viuere fas eſt,
Eſtq; magiſtra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.*

The like doe our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peradventure king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was ſlaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hauuile in his Archirenon make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poetical licence doe not take place in his report and aſſertion. But ſith (I ſay againe) it is not my purpoſe to ſtand vpon theſe points, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them. And whereas alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhould firſt ſet downe by manie circumſtances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of ſuch huge and incredible ſtature as the authors doe remember, and ſhallie whether any of them haue bene in this our Iſland or not, I proteſt plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie, that there haue bene ſuch mightie men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, which I will ſet downe onelie by ſundry examples, whereby it ſhall fall out, that neither our Iſland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other ben altogether without them. Firſt of all therefore, & to begin with the ſcriptures, the moſt ſure & certaine ground of all knowledge: you ſhall haue out of them ſuch

*Eſay. 39.
verſ. 25.

Antheus.
Lucane lib.
4. in line.

Corineus.
Gomagot.

such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient pꝛoofe of my position. Neuerthelesse, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallye of the infidell and pagane authoꝛs, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauilations.

Cap. 6.
ver. 5.

And. 11. 1.

Moses the pꝛophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the flood, hath these wordes in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were gi-
ants vpon the earth. Berofus also the Chaldee writeth, that nere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oe-
non (which I take to be Hanoeh, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugeness of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischefe in the world. The Hebrewes called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabites named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatly replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israel confessed themselves to be but grasshoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressor of the people.

Na. cap. 13.
ver. 33, &
34.

Deut. 3.
ver. 11.
Og of
Basan.

Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be overcome by the Israelites, whose from bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbah (a citie of the Ammonites) containing 9 cubits in length, and 4. in breadth, which cubits I take not to be geometrical, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were therof the Arke was made, as our Diuines asseme, especiallye Augustine: whereas Origen, hom. 2. in Gen. out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to pꝛoue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12. Ambros. & Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap. 17.
ver. 4, 5, 6.
Goliah.

In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliah a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maille was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that met-
tall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand breadth. All which doe import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and inbeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his uttermost power, doth neuerthelesse earnest-
lie asseme, that he was not above thre foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver.
16, 17, &c.

In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure gi-
ants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head

weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliah: the second cal-
led Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. Par. 20. was nothing infe-
rior to the first: the third might also Goliah, the stature
of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers
loome, neuerthelesse he was slaine in the second battell
in Geth by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Iobabs
brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother
(for they were all brethren) was slaine at Geth by Io-
nathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of
personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24.
fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the genera-
tion of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, un-
till the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the flood,
nor utterly consumed in Og as some of our expositors
would haue it.

How to come vnto our chistian writers. For though
the authorities alreadye alleged out of the word, are suf-
ficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I
not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath
reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not
thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and
other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, ra-
ther to haue some mysticall interpretation depending
vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this be-
halfe is to be taken simple as it speaketh. And first of
all to omit that which Tertullian lib. 2. de resurre. saith;
S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a
man, wherof he took good aduise, and pronounced
in the end that it would haue made 100. of his stature, or
arie other mans that liued in his time. The like herof
also doth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of
his 4. booke, saing that in the caue of a mountaine,
not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called
Cory as he gesseth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant
was discovered, thre of whose teeth did weigh 100.
ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth
yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue oun-
ces to the pound, that is 32. ounces euerie tooth.

De ciuitate
Dei lib. 15.
cap. 9.

Iohannes
Boccacius.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull
was able to containe manie bulhels of wheat, and
by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Sym-
metricians iudged his bodie to be about 200. cubits.
Whose teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet
are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the
church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his
greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasi-
on. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundati-
on of an house, the miners happened vpon a great
vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they
were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting
in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that
they ranne awaie, and made an ouerie in the citie, how
there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the
people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and wea-
pons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten
field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forth-
with saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been
aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine
author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched
fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betwixt
his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled
with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme
that it should not fall in peeces: neuerthelesse his bodie
also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing thre
of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of
his thigh bones, which are referred to be seene of such
as will hardlie beleue these reports.

Geograph.
discouery
of 200. ci-
ties.

In the histories of Bzabant I read of a giant found,
whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a
man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an
elephant, because they somewhat resembled those of two
such beasts which were found at the making of the fa-
mous ditch betwixt Brussels and Aquilin. As though
there

there were antie pzetise resemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer bene any elephant of 27 foot in length. But see his demercur. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the shoze of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which fourthat staeth his iudgement, but not altogether remoueth his erroz.

Mar. West-
mon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it contained twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Aeneas.

Iohannes
Leland.
Mafieus,
lib. 14.
Tinct.
Mac. West. There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shoze (where the beating of the sea had washed away the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it contained 50. foot in measure, as our histories do report. The like was scene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreover a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of little John (*per Antiphrosin*) being also 14. foot in length, as diuise do affirme which haue beholde the same, and whereof Hector Boetius doth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hand bones: which is worthe to be remembred.

Hector
Boet. In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Gerualdus
Tilberien-
sis. Gerualdus Tilberienfis, head Warthall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Ditho 4. how that at Moretum, in the suburbs of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peradventure bene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Greke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperor, who liued 1182. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, thre foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man married Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alerius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being above eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dosard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listeth.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iustine, who being bozne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuertheless almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas
Eliot. A carcase was taken vp at Iuie church nere Salisbury but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourtine foot long, in *Dictionario Eliote*.

Leland in
Combrit. In Gilleland in Come Whittou parochie not far from the chappell of the Hoze, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read moze in the chapter of our Ilands.

Richard
Grafton. Richard Grafton in his Spanuall telleth of one whose shinbone contained six foot, and thereto his skull so great that it was able to receiue five pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetric of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather moze, if it were diligently measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and scuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drucerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetric is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Sym-
metric of
proportion
of the bodie
of a comelie
man.

for *agella, orbiculata* (or *formicata*) *prona, resupinata*, and *lactata* (or *repanda*) do so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Whereby also they make the face taken in strict manner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, from the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the word face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called *Vortex*, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like manner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the middle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third joint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willingly remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact manner. As for the rest of the bones, joints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drucerus, Cardan, and other writers, with the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finally the carcase of William conqueror was scene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note together, because they proceed from christian writers, from whome nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

In our times also, and whilst Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man scene in Aquitaine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common height might easilie go vnder his tussit without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreover Calanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briar a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose skull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his booke *De Galliarum illustrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the skull to the sole of the feet, doth yeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so doth Baptista Fulgosi, lib. 1. cap. 6. saue eng farther, that his graue was scene not farre from Valentia, and discovered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Calanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another nere vnto Charnes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not referred by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these reliques vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somewhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be scene in the church of S. Laurence nere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decay, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also

Syluester
Gyraldus.

Conflans
fama Gal-
lorum.

Briar.

is to be seene in Aldermanburie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetric hath bene taken by some skillfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is first in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and theweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Boules, that was nere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, because I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

How it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to scape renowne and praise, they doe procure vnto themselves in the end nothing else but more contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doe seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euery Author beare his owne burden, and euery ore his bundle.

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, nere to the streits of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Anchus, afore remembered to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleeue it, until he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made some time ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bot-tome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saies it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made account of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Paulanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Ajax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was aduinged so broad as a pretty dish: also that the bodie of Asterius sometime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

Philostate. Philostrate in *Heroicus* saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the thirde of twelue.

Liue in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferior to that of Goliath, of Artaches (of whom Herodotus speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was five common cubits of stature, which make but five of the kings standard, because this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, and Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembered by Plinie; of Eleazar a Jew, of whom Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of height five cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention lib. 12. cap. 13. *Hist. eccles.* of five cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, because Calanion of Spatterell hath alreadie sufficientlie discoursed by

on these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcasce Herculem*, as the said Calanion doth meri-lie charge and tpbzard him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which disco- uered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Etion. Feuertheleste I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eyes withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantastickall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seven cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserved in conditorio *Salustianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was drinen to sweare.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenenses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Island in the daies of an emperor, did find the bones of Macrolyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the account of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Greake were found withall,

Sepulchro ego Macrolyris in longa insula

Vita peractis annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Egyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperor, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken up at Gessana, containing 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in *Periplus* telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to digh in their prouince, they found two bodies in several coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Sprotidian maris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcases were found, whose ribs contained 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodie was iudged to be 64. fith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rousing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asianes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of five cubits, and such was the height of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembered, whose height was within 4. fingers bredth of five cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. lib. 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I doe read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius the emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech tooth (taken one with another) contained 12. inches ouer at the least. How so much as in such as he full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the wideness of this mans chaps be welnere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips five at the least. A large mouth

Lib. 7.

Trallianus.

In vna Ser- uoy de An- thea.

A mouth of fiftene foot wide.

mouth in mine opti. son, and not to eat peason with La-
dies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was
able to recitue the whole bodies of mo than one of the
greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies.
When this carcase was thus found, euerie man mar-
uelled at it, & god cause why. A messenger was sent to
Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whe-
ther he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome
or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to
remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather
somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a toth out
of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning
workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of
light matter, after the proportion of the toth, that at the
least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind,
and the fantasies of such as are delisted with nouelties.
To be short, when the image was once made and set vp
on end, it appeared rather an huge colosse than the true
carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome untill
the people were wearie & thoroughlie satisfised with the
sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peces, and
the toth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came,
willing them moreover to couer it diligentlie, and in
anie wise not to dismember the corpes, nor from thence
forth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more.
Pausan. lib. 8. telleth in like maner of Hipodanus & his
fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osiris
by Cham, and were called to his aid at such time as she
feared to be molested by Hammon his first husband,
whilst she remained vpon the Thousanian hill, In ipso
loco, saith he, *pectantur ossa maiora multo quam ut humana
existimari possint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one
great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on each side
I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of
such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and o-
thers. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be
nine orgies or paces in heighth, and foure in breadth, which
are taken for so many cubits, because there is small dif-
ference betwene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit,
and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to
beare an are in the wars, the iron of whose head onelic
weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and
whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wroughtfull weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilk on axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to
be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane,
which is so great and long that no man can betweld it,
neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of
set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder
is fixed by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of se-
uen foot in heighth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles
also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe
a foot higher, but thorough infirmittie and wounds not
able to betweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good)
speake also of another of no lesse heighth than either
of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remem-
berd shall suffice to proue my purpose withall. I might
tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus
threw at Aeneas, and was such as that twelue chosen
and picked men (saith Virgil,

Quidam nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)

were not able so stir and remoue out of the place: but
I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that
these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God:
first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might;
and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugeness of bodie

is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith
they which possessed the same, were not onelic tyrants,
boldish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen
by the weakie & feeble. Finally they were such indeed as
in whom the Lord delisted not, according to the saying
of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui
ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit
Dominus, neque illi viam disciplinae dedit, propterea perierunt,
& quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam
insipientiam, &c.* that is, There were the giants famous
from the beginning, that were of great stature and
expert in warre, those did not the Lord chuse, neither
gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they
were destroyed, because they had no wisdom, and pe-
rished through their owne foolishnesse. That the bodies
of men also do baile decaye in stature, beside Plinie lib.
7. Elsdas likewise confesseth lib. 4. cap. 5. whose authoritie
is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do as-
firme so much, whereas Coropius still continuing his
wonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his
proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his
owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in these daies
be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the
former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude a-
gainst the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies
of the oldest pagans. But see how he would saue all at
last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I
denie not but that old huge personages haue bene seene,
as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which
I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time
the common sort did so much wonder at the like as
we do at these, because they were seldome seene, and
not commonlie to be heard of.

Of the languages spoken in this Iland.

Cap. 6.

What language came first with
Samoths and afterward with
Albion, and the giants of his
companie, it is hard for me to
determine, sith nothing of found
credit remaineth in writing,
which may resolute vs in the
truth hereof. Yet of so much are

we certaine, that the speech of the ancient Britons, and
of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, so
that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as ei-
ther nation with small helpe of interpreters might vn-
derstand other, and readilie discern what the speaker
meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake
Graeke, and how the British tong resembled the same,
which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme
it: but I see that these men do speake without authori-
tie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which
were properlie called Galles did speake Graeke, why
did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that lan-
guage, because that if they should be intercepted they
might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnder-
stand the Galles, he being so skillfull in the language
without an interpreter? Yet I denie not but that the
Celtish and British speeches might haue great affini-
tie one with another, and the British about all other
with the Graeke, for both do appere by certeine words,
as first in tri for thre, march for an hostie, & trimarchia,
whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Athenus also wit-
teth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose
name is more British, compounded of Bad & Ynad, &
signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And whereas he saith
that the reliques of the Galles toke vp their first
dwelling about Athet, and afterward diuided them-
selues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled
in Hungarie were called Sordai, and the other that
inhab

A counter-
fect made of
a monstrous
carcase by
one tooth ta-
ken out of
the head.

This man
was more
Europable to
this monster
than our pa-
pists were to
the bodies of
the dead who
care them in
pieces to
make money
of them.

Grandique
effossa mira-
bitur ossa se-
pulchris.

Vix unita
furior effe-
dem dispersa.

Cap. 3. 36.

4. E. lib. cap. 5.

British.

Small dif-
ference be-
tweene the
British and
Celtike lan-
guages.

inhabited within the dominion of *Æþoll* *Wrenni*, whose seat was on the mount *Wrenhere* parcell of the Alps, what else signifieth the word *Wrenhere* in *British*, from whence the word *Scordisci* cometh, but to be divided: Whereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the *British* and the *Celtish* speeches had great affinity one with another, as I said, which *Cesar* (speaking of the similitude or likeness of religion in both nations) doth also auerre; & *Tacitus* in *vita Agricole*, in like sort plainly affirmeth; & else it must needs be that the *Gallies* which invaded *Italy* and *Greece* were mere *Britons*, of whose likeness of speech with the *Greeke* tongue I need not make any trial, like no man (I hope) will readilye denie it. *Appianus* talking of the *Werni* calleth them *Cymbres*, and by this I gather also that the *Celts* and the *Britons* were indifferentlie called *Cymbri* in their owne language; or else that the *Britons* were the right *Cymbri*, who unto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. *Bodinus* writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdom and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the reliques of the ancient speech remaining in the same: Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the *Britons* and *Celts* was sometime either all one or be like one to another, or else it must follow that the *Britons* overflowed the continent vnder the name of *Cymbres*, being peradventure associat in this voyage, or mixed by inuasion with the *Danes*, and *Bojnogrens*, who are called *Cymbri* and *Cymmerij*, as most writers do remember. This also is euident (as *Plutarch* likewise confesseth in *vita Marij*) that no man knew from whence the *Cymbres* came in his daies, and therefore I beleeue that they came out of *Britaine*, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the bittermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermoze by the slaues which were daile brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called *Dau* for *Daci*, *Geta* for *Gothes*, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearfall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembered by the writers, both of the *Greekes* and *Latines*.

British
corrupted
by the *Latine*
and
Saron speeches.

The *British* tongue called *Camberac* doth yet remaine in that part of the *Iland*, which is now called *Wales*, whither the *Britons* were driuen after the *Sarons* had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call *England*, although the pristine integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the *Latine* and *Saron* speeches withall. Howbeit, manie poetries and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermoze delighted) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betwene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe any sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their *Bards* and cunning men haue bene most slacke and negligent. *Giraldus* in praising the *Britons* affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either *Greeke* or *Latine*. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likeness that was in old time betwene the *Celts* & the *British* tongues, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old *Celtish* to haue some fauour of the *Greeke*. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the *British* speech came once ouer into this *Iland*, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the *Romans*, *Sarons*, *Normans*, and *Englishmen* could make against that nation, in any manner of wise.

The *British*
tongue still.

Petrus and genealogies also the *Welsh* *Britons* haue plenty in their owne tongue, inasmuch that manie

of them can readilye deriue the same, either from *Wrote* or some of his band, euen vnto *Aneas* and other of the *Troians*, and so forth vnto *Noah* without any manner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confesse that their ancient *Bards* were verie diligent in their collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugn their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the *Hebrewes*) did verie solemnlie profess the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselves of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Strabon quid fabunt? quid prodest Pontice longo

Sanguine celsi? *Britanni* quid aurum ducere turmas? &c.

Next vnto the *British* speech, the *Latine* tongue was brought in by the *Romans*, and in manner generallie planted through the whole region, as the *French* was after by the *Normans*. Of this tongue I will not say much, because there are few which be not full in the same. Howbeit, as the speech it selfe is easie and drileable, so hath it peruerterd the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of *Britaine* in such wise, that in these our daies their old *British* denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new *Latine* leaue most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borrowed from the *Romans*, that all our deeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the *Latine* tongue, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registered in the same.

The *Saron*
tongue.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the *Scythian* or high *Dutch*, induced at the first by the *Sarons* (which the *Britons* call *Saysonac*, as they do the speakers *Sayson*) an hard and rough kind of speech, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of utterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be aduouched how there is no one speech vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varieties of words, copie of phrases, or figures and flourishes of eloquence, than hath our *English* tongue, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, because the most of our words (as they do in deed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the *Sarons*, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skillfull artificer in his trade endeth in *Here* with vs, albeit the *H* be left out, and onlie inserted, as *Scruener* here, *write* here, *ship* here, &c: for *scriuer*, *writer*, and *shipper*, &c: beside manie other reliques of that speech, neuer to be abolished.

After the *Saron* tongue came the *Norman* or *French* language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decree taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the *French*, whensoever they were set to the *Grammar* schole. In like sort few *bishops*, *abbats*, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto any ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the *English* tongue in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonour to speake any *English* there. Which hauerie took his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euery plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wear weare of their mother tongue, & laboured to speake *French*, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no matuell, for euery *French* rascal, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie because he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to exile

The *French*
tongue.

erile the English and British speaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaite, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recover and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, toles, and words of art retein still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is used likewise in sundrie courts, booke of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearse. Afterward also, by diligent travail of Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Gower, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of John Scogan, and John Lydgate monke of Berte, our said tong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the equanitie of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie seke to staine the same, by fond affectation of fozen and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English tong is found in one, and the south part of this Island; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retain still their owne countrie language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in utterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrew, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-bozne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few foren nations can rightly pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that saugeth of English trauell. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like manner, speaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest doth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger do hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he swaueth so much from the same, that he is twice therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halseth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie marvelled.

The Cornish and Devonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speech in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deed, more affinitie with the Armoizane tong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of British, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them do meete with a Welsh man, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one another, except here and there in some odd words, without the helpe of interpreters. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh tong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English used in Scotland doth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Island, as I haue said already.

The Scottish english hath bene much broader and lesse pleasant in utterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late induozed to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in manner, as Englishmen themselves did speake for the most part

beyond the Trent, whither any great amendment of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuorith to come hère, if not altogether to match our tong in fineness of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocrypha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and containing fife booke, except my memorie do faile me.

This we see how that under the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue the severall tonges, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you account the English speech for one; notwithstanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I make oneleie of the soile of the maine Island, it be somewhat lesse to be so than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots, because they go bare footed and clad in mantels over their saffron shirts after the Irish manner, do inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gathlet, as they saie of one Cathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past bene seldged out of Ireland, as I noted also in the chapter precedent, and whereunto Vincentius cap. de insula Oceani doth yield his assent, saing that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; *scotia radem (saith he) ex Hibernia, proxima Britannia insula, spatio terrarum angustius, sed sitius fecundior; scotia autem a scotorum gentibus tradita appellata.* Out of the 14. booke of Iodorus intituled *Originum*, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certaine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, where of in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

In the Isles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coastes of Britaine as do abutt vpon the same, the Gattish or Danish speech is altogether in use, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwate held those Islands so long under their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, because that the verie soile of them is enemie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speeches, and those true languages now vsualle spoken within the limits of our Island.

Into how manie kingdoms this Island hath bene diuided.

Cap. 7.



It is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Island was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpon ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the coming of Brutus, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncertaine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Caesar, but also in manner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whom the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Island, who gouerned it by Legats after the manner of a prouince. It should seeme also that within a while after the time of Dunbailon (who rather brought those foure princes that vnterped in his time to obedience, than ertinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Island among them-

selues

The helpers
of our Eng-
lish tong.

Englishmen
apt to learne
any foren
tong.

The Cornish
tong.

Scottish
english.

The wild
Scots.

Redshanks,
Rough footed
Scots.

Irish Scots,
Irish speech.

Britaine at
the first one
entire king-
dome.

selues) each great citie had hir freddome and severall kind of regiment, proper unto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrie appertinent unto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which owght homage and all subiection unto the greater fort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Island was then diuided, took his name of some one of these cities; although *Civitas* after *Cæsar* doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot civitates quot regna*, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the *Trinobantes*, which was so called of *Trinobantum* the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories contained all *Essex*, *Spiddesley*, and part of *Hertfordshire*, even as the iurisdiction of the bishop of *London* is now extended, for the oversight of such things as belong unto the church. Each of the governors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and thereunto either of them daillie made warre upon other, for the enlarging of their limits. But for so much as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned over their severall portions, I will passe over these ancient times, and come nearer unto our owne, I meane the 600. yere of *Christ*, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which season there is evident proofe, that there were twelue or thirteene kings reigning in this Island.

We find therefore for the first, how that *Wales* had hir three severall kingdomes, which being accompted together contained (as *Giraldus* saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof three were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Island extended in those daies no farther than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from *Lhoegres* by the rivers *Sauerne* and *Dæ*, of which two streames this doth fall into the *Irish* sea at *Westchester*, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt *Somersetshire* and *Southwailes*, as their severall courses shall witnesse more at large.

In the beginning it was diuided into two kingdomes onelie, that is to saie, *Venedotia* or *Gwynhedh* (otherwise called *Dehenbarch*) and *Demetia*, for which we now use most comonlie the names of *South* & *Northwailes*. But in a short proceesse of time a third sprung up in the betwixt betwene them both, which from thenceforth was called *Powisy*, as shalbe shewed hereafter. For *Roderic* the great, who flourished 850. of *Christ*, and was king of all *Wales* (which then contained onlie six regions) leaving three sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one unto either of them, whereby *Morwino* or *Morwiner* had *Gwynhedh* or *Northwailes*, *Cadell* *Demetia* or *Southwailes*, and *Anarall* *Powisy*, as *Giraldus* and other doe remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, *Cadell* suruived all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him untill the time of *Theodor* (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselues within the compasse of *Demetia*, which (as I said) contained 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as *Powisy* did six, and *Gwynhedh* fourteene, except my memorie doe faile me.

The first of these three, being called as (I said) *Northwailes* or *Venedotia* (or as *Paulus Iouius* saith *Malfabrene*, for he diuideth *Wales* also into three regions, of which he calleth the first *Dumbara*, the second *Berfrona*, and the third *Malfabrene*) lieth directlie over against the Ile of *Anglesey*, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of *Anglesey* and was called *Aberffraw*. It contained 4. regions, of which the said Island is the first, and whereof in the chapter ensuing I will intreate more at large.

The second is called *Arfon*, and situate betwene two rivers, the *Segwy* and the *Conwy*. The third is *Spe-*

riorneth, and as it is seuered from *Arfon* by the *Conwy*, so is it separated from *Egenia* (otherwise called *Stradcluyd* and *Egenia* the fourth region) by the river *Cluda*. Finally, the limits of this latter are extended also euen unto the *Dæ* it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of *Venedotia*, whereof in times past the region of the *Canges* was not the smallest portion.

The kingdome of *Powisy*, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side *Gwynhedh*, on the east (from *Chester* to *Hereford*, or rather to *Deane forest*) *England*, on the south and west the river *Wylly* and verie high hilles, whereby it is notable seuered from *Southwailes*, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first *Salopburg*, in old time *Pengwerne*, and *Pulsthyg*, but now *Shrewsburie*, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of *Vicouium*, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the *Saxons* called *Wrekencester* and *Wrokecester*, before they overthrew it) is now inhabited with mere English, and where in old time the kings of *Powisy* did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen drave them from thence to *Patraull* in the same province, where they from thenceforth abode. Upon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from *Holt castle*, upon each side of the river, as the channell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of *Banogor*, whilest the abated glorie of the *Britons* yet remained unextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospel, and the unlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselues, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which the one was called *Mailor* or *Mailoroffe*, the other retained still hir old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the *Sauerne*.

As touching *Mailoroffe*, I read moreover in the gesss of *Fowkes de Warren*, how that one *William* sonne to a certeine ladie sister to *Waine Beuerell*, the first lord of *Whittington*, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of *Ellesmore* from the *Welshmen*, in which enterpryse he was so desperatlie wounded, that no man might him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild boar, he got an appetite and recovered his health. This *William* had issue two daughters, to wit, *Helene* married to the heire of the *Alans*, and *Mellent* which refused marriage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of *prouesse*. Hereupon hir father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoever Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie *Mellent* his daughter, & haue with hir his castle of *Whittington* with sufficient liuelihod to mainteine their estates for ever. This report being spread, *Fowkes de Warren* came thither all in red, with a shield of silver and pecoche for his crest, whereof he was called the red knight, and there overcoming the kings sonne of *Scotland*, and a *Baron* of *Burgundie*, he married the maid, and by hir had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like unto this *Mellent* was the daughter sometime of one of the lord *Koffes*, called *Kudall*, who bare such good will to *Fitz-Henrie* clark of hir fathers kitchen, that she made him carie hir awaie on horsebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & overtaken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilest he killed and drave hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of *Fitz-Henrie* for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came up. And thus much (by the waie) of *Mailoroffe*, whereof this may suffice, with mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of *Wales*; but onelie to shew how those regions laie,

Stradcluyd
or *Egenia*.

Powisy.

Banogor.

Mailoroffe.

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene,
Mellent.

The original
name of *Fitz-Henrie*.

C. f.

which

Wales di-
uided into
three king-
domes.

Gwynhedh.

Venedotia.

Anglesey.

Arfon.

Sperrioneth.

Demetia.

which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or South Wales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syl lures, whereunto I also am perswaded, that the Wydo lukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Saucerne: but howsoever that mat ter falleth out, Demetia hath the Saucerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Saucerne onlie, and by north the land of Powisly, whereof I spake of late.

Cair Mari-
dunum.

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old wri ters call Maridunum, was the chiefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through forein and ciuill inuasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermabw, and si tuate neuerthelesse vpon the same river Temy, wher on Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hills, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe marishes. In this region also lieth Pembroke 20 *alis* Penmoroc shire, whose fatuons haue bene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Wil ford haueu, whereof the Welsh wilsards doe yet dreame strange toies, which they beleue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but moze to beleue such blind pro phesies as haue bene made of old time, and no man is accounted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie.

Hietland.
Scotland.
Picts.
Scots.

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, 30 (besides that of the Pictades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Hightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scott and: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from o ther, either by huge hills or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betwene them. It seemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the ri uers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to in large their dominions, gaue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Tweede, which then became march be twene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will fate no moze of these two, but proceed in order with the reherfall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so nere as I can, for otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue 50 certain notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions.

Kent Hen-
shir.

The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantuarland, and as the limits thereof extended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the chiefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantuarbyr now Canturburie) so it indured well nere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Sarons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Carle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lam bert in his historie of Kent doth gather, by verie proba ble coniectures, that this part of the Iland was first in habited by Samoths, and afterward by Albion. But howsoever that case standeth, sure it is that it hath bene the onlie dore, whereby the Romans and Sarons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Caesar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eighteenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confes seth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that mo- neth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparent) so that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten

daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be de nied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onlie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought euer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the dark- nesse of mistie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall be nefit and euerlasting comforts.

The second kingdome contained onlie Suffer, and 10 a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saron first held: who also erected his chiefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroyed Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 232. yeares, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Sarons (for to saie truth, it contained little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or Westsar ons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Suffer pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Cozintwall, as I haue often read.

Southsac.
Ella.

The third regiment was of the East Sarons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erken- win, whose chiefe seat was in London (or rather Col- chester) and contained whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. It indured also much about the picke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the river Stoure, as Houeden and o- thers doe report, & so it continueth separed from Suf- folke euen vnto our times, although the said riuer be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath bene in times past, by reason that our countrie- men make small account of riuers, thinking carriage made by horse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceived, I will else where make manifest declaration.

Eastlac.
Erkenwin.

The fourth kingdome was of the West Sarons, 40 and so called, because it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Suffer in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdyg, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Warke- shire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Gloucester shire, some part of Devonshire (which the Britons occu- pied not) Cornetwall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors doe set downe. At the first it contained onlie Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Warke- shire, but ver long the princes thereof conquered whatsoever the kings of Suffer and the Britons held vnto the point of Cozine- wall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chiefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedraall sea, by means where- of he himselfe removed his palace to Winchester.

Westlac.

Cerdyg.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, because it laie 60 by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuer ted it into a kingdome. It contained all that region which (as it should seme) was in time past either wholie appertaining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Bri- gants did possesse the greater part. The chiefe citie of the same in like manner was York, as Bede, Capgrave, Leyland, and others doe set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbres, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betwene the Forth and the Tweede, which afterward descending to the Scots by means of the vtter destruction of the Picts, hath not bene siithens vnited to the crowne of

Brennicia,
alias North-
thumber-
land.
Ida.

of England, nor in possession of the mere English, as before time it had bene. Such was the crueltie of these pites also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certaine houre they made a Sicilien euenlong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laich hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped northward, and saved themselves by flight.

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, under Adda, that reebled by all his portion, which lay betwene **Wimder** and the **Tine** vnto his brother **Ella** (according to their fathers appointment) who called it **Deira**, or **Southumberland**, but retaining the rest still vnto his share, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. **Wolbert** after 21. yeares, it was reunited againe, and so continued untill **Alfred** annexed the whole to his kingdom, in the 331. after **Ida**, or 878. of the birth of **Iesus Christ** our Saviour.

The seauenth kingdom, called of the **East-angles**, began at **Northwich** in the 61. after **Christ**, under **Wifa**, of whom the people of that region were long time called **Wiflings**. This included all **Northfolke**, **Suffolke**, **Cambridgeshire**, and **Elie**, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelic 35. yeares in perfect estate of libertie, the rest being continued under the tribut and vassalage of the **Pertians**, who had the soueraintie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the **Danes** gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie soze, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the **West-saxons** united it to their crownes. Some saie that **Grantchester**, but now **Cambridge** (a towne created out of hir ruines) was the chiefe citie of this kingdom, and not **Northwich**. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolve the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the **Icenes**, but as yet for my part I cannot yeld to their assertions, I meane it of **Island** himselfe, whose helpe I vse cheslie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolved that he doth iudge aright.

The 8. & last was that of **Mertia**, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse extended all the rest. It took the name either of **Meare**, the **Saxon** word, because it was march to the rest, and trullie, the limits of most of the other kingdoms abutting vpon the same, or else for that the lawes of **Martia** the **Queene** were first vsed in that part of the Island. But as this later is but a mere conjecture of some, so the said kingdom began under **Credoda**, in the 85. of **Christ**, & indured well nere 300. yeares before it was united to that of the **West-saxons** by **Alfred**, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the **Danes** had gotten hold thereof, and placed one **Ceolulph** an idiot in the same; but as he was some relected for his follie, so it was not long after ver the said **Alfred** (I saie) annexed it to his kingdom by his man-

hod. The limits of the **Pertian** dominions included **Lincolne**, **Northampton**, **Chesser**, **Darbie**, **Nottingham**, **Stafford**, **Huntington**, **Rutland**, **Oxford**, **Buckingham**, **Worcester**, **Bedfordshires**, and the greatest part of **Shropshire** (which the **Welsh** occupied not) **Lancaster**, **Glocester**, **Hereford** (alias **Hirchford**) **Wartwicke** and **Yerfordshires**: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreover, this kingdom was at one time diuided into south and north **Mertia**, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the **Trent**, which later also **Osuald** of **Northumberland** did giue to **Uleada** the sonne of **Benda** for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthy to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the **Saxons**, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which **Alcimumd**, **Edwine**, **Ofwald**, **Ofwijn** and **Aldwold** reigned in **Northumberland**; **Sigebert**, **Echelbert**, **Edmond**, and another **Sigebert** among the **Eastangles**; **Kenelme** and **Wiltan** in **Mertia**; and **Saint Edward** the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leane in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Island also into prouinces, as the **Romanes** seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

The **Romanes** therefore hauing obtained the possession of this Island, diuided the same at the last into five prouinces, as **Vibius Sequester** saith. The first whereof was named **Britannia prima**, and contained the east part of England (as some doe gather) from the **Trent** vnto the **Tweede**. The second was called **Valentia** or **Valentiana**, and included the west side, as they note it, from **Lirpule** vnto **Cokermouth**. The third hight **Britannia secunda**, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betwene the **Trent** and the **Thames**. The fourth was surnamed **Flauia Cæsariensis**, and contained all the countrie which remained betwene **Douer** and the **Sauerne**, I meane by south of the **Thames**, and wherevnto (in like sort) **Coznewall**, and **Wales** were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named **Maxima Cæsariensis**, now **Scotland**, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnought out of the grade **Romanes**, because of the great plentie of filly and soule, fine alabastrer and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of household and curious building, wherein they much delighted. More hereof in **Sextus Rufus**, who liued in the daies of **Valentine**, and wrote *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Limits of
Mertia.

Britannia
prima.

Valentia.

Britannia
secunda.

Flauia Cæsariensis.

Maxima
Cæsariensis

Mertia.
Credoda.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Island, first from **Samoths** vnto the birth of our sauour **Christ**, or rather the comming of the **Romanes**: secondlie of their

Legates: thirdlie of the **Saxon** princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the **Danes**, and lastlie of the **Normans** and **English** princes, according to the truth contained in our Histories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from **Samoths** to **Britie**.

Samoths,
Magus,
Sarronius,
Druuius,
Bardus,
Longho,
Bardus Junior,
Lucus,
Celtes,
Albion,
Celtes after **Albion** slaine.

Galates,
Harbon,
Lugdus,
Beligius,
Iafius,
Allobrox,
Romus,
Paris,
Lemanus,
Olbis,
Galates 2.,
Nannes,
Remis,
Francus,
Pictus.

After whom **Brute** entred into the Island, either neglected

by the **Celtes**, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as followeth,
Brute,
Loctrinus,
Gwendolena his widow,
Madan,
Mempricius,
Ebracus,
Brutus Junior,
Leil,
Rudibras,
Bladunus,
Leir,
Cordell his daughter.

Cunedach and **Morgan**,
Riuallon,
Gurgustius,
Sifillus,
Iago,
Kimmachus,
Gorbodug,
Ferres and **Porrex**,
These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land traue for the superioztie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yeares (after the race of **Brute** was decayed) vntill **Dunwalon** king of **Cornwall** subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding.

ding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as bassals & inferiours to him, he being their chiefe and onelic soueraigne.

Dunwallon reigneth, Belinus his sonne, in whose time Brennus usurpeth,

Gurgwinbatus, Guirellinus,

Seisill,

Kymarus,

Owan alias Ellan,

Morwich alias Morindus,

Grandobodian alias Gorbonian,

Arcigallon,

Eldurus alias Hefidor,

Arcigallon againe,

Eldurus againe,

Vigen alias Higanus, & Petiur

alias Petidurus,

Eldurus the third time,

Gorbodia alias Gorbonian,

Morgan,

Meriones alias Eighuans,

Idouallon,

Rhimo Rohugo,

Gerupnius Voghen,

Catellus,

Coculus,

Pytho alias Porrex,

Cherinus,

Fulgianus alias Sulgenis,

Eldadus,

Androgus,

Vrian,

Hellindus,

Dedanius Eldagan,

Clorenis Claten,

Gurgunius,

Merian,

Bledunus Bledagh,

Cophenis,

Owinus alias Oghwen,

Sifilus of Sicifilus,

Blegabridus,

Arcimalus Archiuall,

Eldadus,

Ruthenis thre moneths,

Rodingarus alias Rodericus,

Samulus Penfell,

Pytho 2,

Carpotis alias Cappotis,

Dynellus alias Dygnellus,

Hellindus a few moneths,

Lhoid,

Casibellane,

Theomantius,

Cynobellinus,

Arutragus,

Marius,

Coellus,

Lucius,

Whitherto I haue set forth the

catalog of the kings of Brit-

taine, in such sort as it is to be

collected out of the most ancient

histories, monuments and

records of the land. Now I

will set forth the order and

succession of the Romane

legates or deputies, as I haue

before them first out of Tac-

itus, then Dion, and others;

howbeit I cannot warrant

the iust course of them from

Julius Agricola forward, be-

cause there is no man that re-

hereth them orderlie, yet by

this my doing herein, I hope

some better table may be fra-

med hereafter by other, where-

of I would be glad to under-

stand when fouer it shall

please God that it may come

to passe,

Aulus Plautius,

Officius Scapula,

Didius Gallus,

Autus,

Veranius a few moneths,

Petronius Turpilianus,

Trebellius Maximus,

Veitius Volanus,

Petilius Cerealis,

Julius Frontinus,

Julius Agricola,

Whitherto Cornelius Tacitus re-

hereth these vicegerents or

deputies in order,

Salustius Lucullus,

Cneius Trebellius,

Suetonius Paulinus,

Calphurnius Agricola,

Publius Trebellius,

Pertinax Helius,

Vlpus Marcellus,

Clodius Albinas,

Heraculus,

Carus Tyrannus,

Junius Seuerus, alias Julius Se-

uerus,

Linus Gallus,

Lollius Vibicus,

Maximus,

Octavius,

Traherus,

Maximinianus,

Gratianus,

Actius,

Other Legates whose names

are taken out of the Scottish

histories but in incertain order,

Fronto sub Antonino,

Publius Trebellius,

Aulus Victorinus,

Lucius Antinoris,

Quintus Bassianus,

Wales.

I.

The Romans not regarding

the gouernance of this land,

the Britons ordeine a king

in the 447, after the incarnation

of Christ.

Vortiger,

Vortimer,

Aurelius Ambrosius,

Vther,

Arthur,

Constantine,

Aurelius Conanus,

Vortiporius,

Maglocunus,

Carctius,

Cadwan,

Cadwallon,

Cadwallader,

The kingdom of Wales ceas-

eth, and the gouernance of the

countrie is translated to the

West Saxons by Inas, whose

second wife was Denwalline,

the daughter of Cadwallader;

with hir he not onlie obte-

ned the principalltie of Wales

but also of Cornuall & Bre-

tagne, which then was a colo-

nie of the Britons, and vnder

the kingdom of Wales.

Kent.

2.

Hengist in the 9. of the reco-

rie of Britaine proclaimeth

himselfe king of Kent, which

is the 456. of the birth of our

Lord & sauior Iesus Christ.

Hengist,

His wife alias Ofca,

Ofca his brother,

Ermenricus,

Athelbert,

Eadbaldu,

Ercombert,

Ecbert,

Lothar,

Edric,

The seat void.

Withredus,

Adelbert Iugon,

Eadbert,

Alric,

Eadbert,

Guthred,

Alred,

The kingdom of Wales

was united vnto that of the

West Saxons by Inas, to be the

kingdom of Kent, at this pre-

sent by Ecbert in the 827. of

Christ, who put forth out Al-

dred and maketh Adcltane

his owne vnto some Hertich

of the same, to the wherofas it

was before a kingdom, now

it becometh an Hertichie of

Dunedome; and so continu-

eth for a long time after.

Southsex.

Ella in the 6. after Whit-

glen ouer by the Romans

createth a kingdom in South-

sex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ,

whose race succeeded in this

order,

Ella,

Cyssa,

Geathin,

Celric,

Kilwulf,

Kinigils,

Kinwalc,

Ethelwold,

Berthun,

Aldwin,

This kingdom endured for

berie long as ye may see, for it

was united to that of the

West Saxons by Inas, in the

468. of the world, which was

the 723. of Christ, according

to the usual supputation of

the church; and 232. after Ella

had created the same, as is a-

foresaid.

Essex.

4.

Erkenwin in the 527. after our

sauior Christ becometh to

reigne ouer Essex, and in the

81. after the returne of Bri-

taine from the Romans obe-

dience,

Erkenwin,

Sledda,

Sebertus,

Sepredus and Sywardus,

Sigebert fil. Syward,

Sigebert,

Swithelin,

Sijgar and Sebba,

Sebba alone,

Sijgar,

Ofca,

Selredus,

Ethelwold,

Albert,

Humbcanna,

Sinthredus,

In the 303. after Erkenwin,

Ecbert of the West Saxons vi-

niteth the kingdom of Essex

vnto his owne, which was in

the 828. after the birth of our

sauior Christ, I cannot as

yet find the exact piers of the

later princes of this realme,

and therefore I am constrain-

ned to omit them altogether,

as I haue done before in the

king of the Britons, vntill

such time as I may come by

such monuments as may re-

flecte the defect.

Westsex.

5.

Erst die entreteth the kingdome

of the West Saxons, in the 519.

of the birth of Christ, & 73. of

the abiection of the Romane

seruitude,

Erst die alias Gerie,

Cenric,

dred and maketh Adcltane

his owne vnto some Hertich

of the same, to the wherofas it

was before a kingdom, now

it becometh an Hertichie of

Dunedome; and so continu-

eth for a long time after.

The seat void,

Geathin,

Cadwallader,

Inas,

Ethelred,

Guthredus,

Sigebert,

Kinwulf,

Brithric,

Ecbert,

Ethelwulf,

Ethelbald,

Ethelbert,

Ethelfrid,

Alfred,

Edward 1.

Adcltane,

Edmund,

<p>Ethelred. Oibald. Eardulf. Aldefwald. Eandred. Edeled. Redwulf. Edeledr againe. Osbright. Ecbert. Ricarius a Dane. Ecbert againe. Alfride king of the westsaxons subdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our sauour Christ, and 33. after Ida.</p> <p>Deira. 7.</p> <p>Ella brother to Adda is ouer the south humbers, whose kingdome reched from humber to the thele, in the 590. after the incarnation of Iesus Christ our sauour.</p> <p>Ella. Edwijn. Aethelbriht. Edwijn againe. Ofric. Oswald. Oswijn.</p> <p>Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuision of the kingdome of the Northumbres between the sons of Ida was the smallest continuance, & it was vntied to the Northumbres (whereof it had bene a saie in time past a member) by Oswijn</p>	<p>in the 91. after Ella, when he had most traitorouslie slaine his brother Oswijn in the peer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the coming of Christ) and contened that countrie which we now call the bishopprike.</p> <p>Estanglia. 8.</p> <p>Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Estangles or Offings in the 561. after the natiuite of Christ, and 114. after the deuierie of Britaine.</p> <p>Offa. Ticellus. Redwaldus. Corpenwaldus. The feat void. Sigebert. Egricus. Anna. Adeler. Ethelwold. Adwulf. Beorne. Ethelred. Ethelbert.</p> <p>Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and vniteth Estanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Christ, after it had continued in the posteritie of Offa, by the space of 228. years and yet of that short space, it enioyed onelic 35. in libertie, the rest being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia as foresaid.</p>	<p>Mercia. 9.</p> <p>Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our sauour Christ, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.</p> <p>Creodda. Wibba. Cherlus. Penda. Olfw. Weada. Wulferus. Ethelred. Kinred or Kindred. The feat void. Kilred. Ethelbald. Beorred. Offa. Egferth. Kinwulf. Kenelme. Kilwulf. Bernulf. Ludicane. Willaf. Ecbert. Willaf againe. Bertulf. Bured. Kilwulf.</p> <p>Alfride vniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the westsaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfride the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleoluphus therein, but he was sone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afoze rehearsed.</p>	<p>* The succession of the kings of England from William bastard, vnto the first of Quene ELIZABETH.</p> <p>William the first. William his sonne. Henrie 1. Stephen. Henrie 2. Richard 1. Iohn. Henrie 3. Edward 1. alias 4. Edward 2. Edward 3. Richard 2. Henrie 4. Henrie 5. Henrie 6. Edward 4. alias 7. Edward 5. Richard 3. Henrie 7. Henrie 8. Edward 6. Marie his sister. Elizabeth.</p> <p>Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath bene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions since the conquest few men haue erred that haue used any diligence, yet in the times before the same, fewer haue gone any thing nere the truth, through great oversight & negligence. Their severall pæces also doe appere in my Chronologie ensuing.</p>
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Of the ancient religion

used in Albion.

Cap. 9.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the first, and so long as the posteritie of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothies, and published with his lawes in the second of his arrivall, was exercised among the Britans. And although peradventure in proces of time, either through curiositie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and goodnesse) it might a little decaye, yet when it was at the worst, it farre exceeded the best of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the superstitious rites, which Cham and his successors did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

Sarron.

That other learning Magus the sonne of Samothies taught after his fathers death, when he also came to the kingdome, beside this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot easilie say, but that it should be naturall philosophie, and astrologie (whereby his disciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie use of the word Magus (or Magusæus) among the Persians doth yeld no uncerteine testimony.

In like manner, it should seeme that Sarron sonne vnto the said Magus, diligentlie followed the steps of his father, and thereto beside his owne practise of teaching, opened scholes of learning in sundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby such as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithstanding

ing, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druides, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothies still among the Grecians, as Aristotle in his *De magia* doth confesse; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth therunto, that they first brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Grækes.

Samothei.
Semnothei.

Druius the son of Sarron (as a scholer of his fathers owne teaching) seemed to be exquisit in all things, that pertained vnto the diuine and humane knowledge; and therefore I may safelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the skill of philosophie and the quadrimals, but also in the true Theologie, whereby the right service of God was kept and preserved in puritie. He wrote moreover sundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reserved verie religiouslie, and had in great estimation of such as sought vnto them.

Druius.

How and in what order this prince left the state of religion, I meane touching publike orders in administration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I doe not read; howbeit this is most certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began somewhat to decaye. For such is mans nature, that it will not suffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or subtraction of this or that, to or from the same) so to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for such as doe come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and restore the same againe vnto the former perfection.

Corruptors
of religion.

In the beginning this Druius did preach vnto his hearers, that the soule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in shewing fauor vnto the goodlie, and iust as an bright iudge in punishing the wicked; that the secrets of mans hart are not unknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as

Caesar.

C. 9. the

Strabo, li. 4.
Societ. lib.
succell.
Cicero di-
uinat. 1.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmetically industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometrical demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortallitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

*Morte carent anima, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitantque recepta.)*

The second of succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie benefited by his merits, whilst he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an eagle, of Ajax into a lion, of Atlas into a certaine wether, of Therites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

*Ipse ego namq. fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arcturum & volucris mutus quoq. in aequore piscis.*

Plinius, lib.
16. cap. vli-
mo.

Metempsi-
chosis.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this error) if the soule appertained at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slave, begger, cocke, otter, dog, ape, horse, asse, boorne, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certaine period of time. Beside this, it should peradventure susteine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it should finally be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaved it selfe more orderly than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or resolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certaine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were buried, to be deliuered vnto their deceased friends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as traueled here on earth in their purgations (as the Apocourts do write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speech-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordingly, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshiping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and daile deuised infinit other toies (for error is neuer assured of his owne doings) whereof neither Sarmothus, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druius did leaue them any prescription.

The hono-
red whereon
mistle did
grow, and so
doe our so-
cieties euen
to this daie
think
some spirits
to deale a-
bout it same,
for hidden
creature,

These things are partly touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partly also by Cesar, Mela, Val. Max. lib. 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part do confesse, that the chiefe schoule of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so holie professed and folloved, *et dedisse Persis videri possit, lib. 30. cap. 1.* and whether the Druiydes also themselves, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from

them some use of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our latuers practised in their ples and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie coming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betwene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common access one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation traueled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countreymen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered by in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our ples also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Gallia cauidicos docuit sacunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgery, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not so sone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authority in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Isles of Albright, Anglesey, and the Orkades, in which they held open scholes of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the chiefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer any controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Islands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew finally into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Islands, because they honoured hir priests (the Druiydes) as the Atheniens did their Areopagites.

Logike and
Rhetorike
out of Gal-
lia.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiyde religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the priests of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skillfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, pertaining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of young men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Estimation
of the Drui-
ydes or
Druiyde
priests.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exactions of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholars to flocke vnto them from all places, to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue yeares, still learning the secrets of those vniuersall mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonly pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onlie to preserve their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, wherevnto books are vtter enemies, inasmuch as he that was skillfull in the Druiyde religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses together, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole procelle of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be seene, that they retained this kind of writing from Druius (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Island hath not

Immunitie
of the clear-
er greater
under do-
larie than
under the
gospel.

not haue void of letters and learned men, euen sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparell, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profittable to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifieng neuerthelesse, that it was distinguished by sundrie deuises from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoener wore the Druiidish weed, might walke where he would without any harine or annoiance. This honour was giuen also vnto the priests in Rome, inso much that when Volusius was exiled by the Triumvirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the weed of a priest vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his aduersaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

After the death of Druius, Bardus his sonne, and fifth king of the Celts, succeeded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the twinding and wrapping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first deuised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse inuend with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musicke, of which two many suppose him to be the verie autho: and beginner, although vnjustlie, sith both poetrie and song were in vse before the flood, as was also the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great skill in musicke. Vnto proceed, as the chiefe estimation of the Druiides remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the fame of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first contained onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion.

Gen. 4. 21.

The Bardes degenerate.

There was little difference also betwene them and the Druiides, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, drunken meetings, and abhominable sacrifices of the idols: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond blage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet ertingulthed among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and officians Bardes, as they do also in Ireland: which Sulpicius also writing to Lucane remembreth, where he saith that the word Bardus is mere Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beside themselves to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto mistaking vtterlie the rough musicke of the Bardes, entred so farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their foles and idiots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable manner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their couragious singers and capitains that delited in musicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodbardos, & one lame musician Lambard aboute all other, of whose skilfull ditties Germanie is not vn furnisshed, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizequia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their times Arcitos, and in stead of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shels such sonnets and ditties as either pertaine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of anceltrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betwene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finally of our sort, Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other like sayengs well toward the latter end;

Lucan. li. 1.

*Vos quos qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis animum,*

*Plurima securi fudit his carmina Bar li,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidae, postis recepistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & cali numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbra
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Diisque profundis
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longae canitis si cognita, vitae
Mors media est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Felines errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud virget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animeque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum est reditura parcere vitae.*

Thus we see as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall autho:rs left it, in god sooth I cannot say, yet this is most certaine, that after a time, when Albion arrived here, the religion earth embraced fell into great decaye. For whereas Iaphet & Samoths with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vtterlie renouncing to followe their steps, gaue their minds wholie to seduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with most filthy trades and practises; but also all mankind, generally where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conuerfation. For from Cham and his successors proceeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull lust, without respect of sex, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or streames deriued from a most filthy and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesses, such was the folie of his Egyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilest he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemefenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Osiris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his disciples taught.

Chemefenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham.
Chem Min, Cham made a god.

Certes it was a custome begonne in Egypt of old time, and generally in vse almost in euerie place in procelle of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was proprietie said to haue a seat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestially or immateriall orbes, the other in sheeps skins, and verie brittle paper) but yet so esteemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermost aduentures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obtaine that benefit, for then should there not haue bene stars enow in heauen to haue serued all their turnes, wherefore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. Semones dici voluerunt (saith Fulgentius In vocibus antiquis) quos calo nec dignos ascriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; sicut Priapus Hyppo. Fortunus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratia venerationem, as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Cyvil. aduersus Iul. lib. 6, scilicet 8.

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthe to be of the second or first companie, which was a iollie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, hono-
ring of the starres, and boud of inferiour gods were
hatched at the first, which folles in pcesse of time
came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne &
Jupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I
haue already somewhat digressed from my matter, I
will go yet a little farther, and shew forth the originall
use of the word Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby
your hono: shall see a little more into the errors of
the Gentils, and not onlie that, but one point also of
the root of all the confusion that is to be found among
the ancient histories. Certes it was used for a few
yeres after the partition of the earth (which was
made by Noah, in the 133. yere after the flood) that the
beginners of such kingdoms as were then created
should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe
that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of
Egypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries.
Their eldest sonnes also that succeded them, were cal-
led Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which
reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it
followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Jupiter
and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

In like sort they had such another order among their
daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto
their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto
them for a time) as before the flood, to the end the earth
might be thoroughly replenished, and the soner furni-
shed with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister
therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea,
but of Jupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there
was no latter Harlot that would indeneure to deriue
the pedigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his
dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought
it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might
cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this
opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth
were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not know-
ing out of doubt, what they themselves did meane, sith
these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, the Sunne, Pa-
ter Deorum, and such like, were onlie ascribed vnto
Noah: as * Terra, (the Earth) Velta, Aretia, the Moone,
Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his
wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in
euerie nation for their eldest god, or first prince, Jupiter
for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therefore sith
these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all,
it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient
histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed with
those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish
them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all
men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby
what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer in-
to Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie
that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in
among vs, as desiring of mortall men, honoring of
the starres, and creation of huge images, beside force-
rie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Cheminites
are worthilie called the autoz. Neither were these er-
rors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute,
who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he
and his companie had learned before in Grecia, from
whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus,
(a man of exceeding age) & made him his preest and bi-
shop thorough out the new conquest, that he had achie-
ued in Britaine.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increa-
sed more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the
Druidish and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that
came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countrie-
men either brought hither from abroad, or daily inuen-

ted at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to
passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God
(of whome Samoths and his posteritie did preach in
times past) now they honored the said Samoths him-
selfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter,
Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finally
Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and
porches of their temples, entrances into their regi-
ons, cities, towncs and houses, with their limits and
bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and
ports vnto Botolph & Giles) because fortitude and wise-
dome are the chiefe vpholders and beaterers vp of com-
mon-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed
to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols
whose names I now remember not. In lieu more-
ouer of these and open, they offered mankind also vnto
some of them, killing their offenders, prisoners, and oft
such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shut-
ting vp great numbers of them together in huge ima-
ges made of wicker, rā, haie, or other light matter:
and then setting all on fire together, they not onlie con-
sumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes
adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it
to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made
vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible
custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common
to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers,
captines, &c: but also their owne children with fire, in
such manner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the
prophane histories doe generallie leaue it euident, as a
thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of
which later Virgil saith;

Sanguine placatus ventos & virgine castis, &c.

As Silius both of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall
maner of the Carthaginenses, saieing after this maner;

Præa reducebat miserrandos annua castis, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more
pertinent to my purpose than the reherfall of forreine
demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort
were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius,
when the light of saluation began strongly to shine in
Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the chri-
stians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside
three Archflamines, whose preests were then as our
Archbishops are now, in that they had superiour charge
of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours,
and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and
superstitious ceremonies.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it
is enough to saie, that they were monstrous, and
that each nation contended which should honour the
greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust
height of the god or goddess whom they did represent.
Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie
cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the
idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few
men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the
librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another
made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France
passed all, which Zenodorus made vnto Mercurie at Ar-
uernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Whereby it appea-
reth, that as they were void of moderation in number
of gods, so without measure were they also in their pro-
portions, and happie was he which might haue the grea-
test idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Hitherto we haue heard of the time, wherein idola-
trie reigned and blinded the hearts of such as dwelled in
this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, af-
ter the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauour.
And euen here would I begin with an allegation of
Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance
(conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of So-
phronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the
word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of capti-
uitie,

Which
were pro-
perly cal-
led, Saturni,
Ioues, Iuno-
nes, and Her-
cules.

Isis, Io, and
Iuno all one.

Caelum or
Caelus,
Ogyges,
Sol,
Pater deo-
rum,
* Tydea,
Velta,
Terra,
Luna,
Aretia,
Deorum
mater.

From whence
Brute did
learn his
religion.

Dis or Samo-
thes made a
god.

Mela,
Diodorus,
Strab. 4.
Plin.
Cæsar, 5.

Procl. Luc.
cens. 5.

Monstrous
proportions
of idols.

Theodoret,
Sophroni-
us.

uittie, which fell as I doe read in the 57. of Christ. But
sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodo-
ret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I
will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded
vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authoritie,
whereof we haue more certaintie. First of all therfore
let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls com-
ming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found
of other by-writers in other points of more assurance.
Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

*Quid facer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi praeconia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arctos, merides, hic plenus vespere & ortu,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quidq; Britannus habet terras atque ultima Thule, &c.*

Iosephus.

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the
time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now
called Glessenburgh or Glasenburie, an epitaph affir-
med thereunto is proofe sufficient. Howbeit, sith these
things are not of competent force to persuaide all men,
I will ad in set, what I haue read elsewhere of his arri-
uall here. First of all therfore you shall note that he
came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ,
when the persecution began under Nero, at which time
Philip and diuers of the goodlie being in France (wher
ther he came with other christians, after they had fol-
lowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares)
seuered themselves in sunder, to make the better thift
for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than
by their flight, the gospel might haue due furtherance.

Philip,
Freculphus
To. 2. lib. 2.
cap. 4.Nennius,
Nicepho-
rus lib. 2.
cap. 40.Isidorus lib.
de vita &
obitu diff.
patrum.W. Malmes-
bury de antiq.
Glastonia
monast.

Whereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon
good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him
Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and mini-
ster the sacraments there according to the rites of the
churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came
not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which
was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Di-
naw did set forth the gospel amongst them. Of the com-
ming of Zelotes you may read more in the second
booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this
manner: *Operapretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galilee cor-
tum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, sum-
mam euangelicam rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est
hic referre, accepit enim in calitis adueniente spiritu sancto, Ae-
gyptum Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritiam & Ly-
biam omnem euangelium deprecans percurrit, eandemque do-
ctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulasque Britanni-
cas perferit.* And this is the effect in a little romie, of that
which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside
these two here alledged, although it may well be gathe-
red that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith,
before this fiftie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas
some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it
cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudge-
ment, but rather that they were baptised and remini-
sted, either in Rome, or else where. And of this sort I
suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one,

Claudia Ru-
fina & Bys-
sity laudic.

1. Tim. 4.

who was a Britissh ladie indeed, and not onelie excel-
lentlie scene in the Greeke and Latine tongues, but also
with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as
one hauing had conuersation and conference with
them at Rome, from whence he did write his second
epistle vnto Timothee, as I read. Of this ladie more-
ouer Martial speaketh, in reioicing that his poesies were
read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meancs, who
used to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams
and send them to hir friends for tokens, saing after
this maner, as himselfe doth set it downe:

Dicitur & nuptos cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he
addeth these words:

*Claudia caruleis com sit Rufina Britannis
Edura, cur Latine pectora plebis habet?*

Litt. Epig.
34

*Quale decus formae Romanam credemus et res
Italides possunt, At thides esse suam.*

Dij bene, quod sancto peperit sacunda marito,

Quot sperat, generos, quotque puella marmo,

Sic placeat superis, ut coniuge gaudeat uno,

Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of his thre children were Pudenciana,
Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the
death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cap-
10 padocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where
they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the
saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and
proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (under the yeare
of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperor) that
ninth scholars or clerkes of Grantha or Grantia (now
Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became
preachers of the gospel there, but whether Taurinus bi-
shop or elder ouer the congregation at Poike (who as

Lib. 10. cap.
17.
Taurinus.

30 Viscehtius saith, was executed about this time for his
faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie
find, but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no
Britaine at all, but *Episcopus Eboracensis*, for which such as
perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may
some write *Eboracensis*, as certeinlie mine author out of
Whornhalledge this authoritie hath done before me.

For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therfore the
Chronologie is it speake of antie Taurinus bishop of
Poike is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other
also embraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie
before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding,
the glad tidings of the gospel had neuer free
and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in
which the verie enemies of the word became the ap-
parent meancs (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue
it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the empe-
ror had giuen out a decree, that the Druiissh religion
should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose

40 surname is now perished) took aduise of his counsell
what was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And
this did Lucius, because he knew it impossible for man
to liue long without any religion at all: finally finding
his possibilitie & subiects vtter enemies to the Romane
deuotio (for that they made so many gods as they list),
& some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung)
and therunto being picked forwards by such christians
as were conuersant about him, to chuse the seruite of
the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the flauissh
seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolved with

50 himselfe in the end, to receiue and embrace the gospel
of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and great-
est philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop
there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiecti-
on to his sea, which then was not required, but to say
with such as were picked in mind, Ads. 2. verse. 37.
Quid facimus viri fratres? I meane that they were sent to
make earnest request vnto him and the congregation
there, that a competent number of preachers might be
sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and tra-
uell, the foundation of the gospel might surelie be laid
ouer all the portion of the Ile, which contained his king-
dome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he resolved
not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had
shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards
calling the brethren together, they agreed to ordeine,
euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue
heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally after they
had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall
prayer vnto God and earnest supplication for the good
successe of these men, they sent them home againe with
no small charge, that they should be diligent in their
function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their
custo-

* This is
contrarie to
the common
talk of our
Atheists
who say, Let
vs liue here
in wealth,
credit and
authoritie
vpon earth,
and let God
take heauen
and his reli-
gion to him-
selfe: to dea
withall
what he
listeth.

Lucius ope-
neth his
ears to good
counsell, as
one desirous
to serue God
& not prefer
the world.

The pur-
pose of Luci-
us opened
vnto the con-
gregation at
Rome by E-
leutherus.

cussodie.

The first of these was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought by there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medgunius, and was there to furnamed Belga, because he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained by also in one schole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their bozie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none moze worthie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yet Lucius and all his household with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, before infinit numbers of the common people, which dailely resorted vnto them, and voluntarie renounced all their idolatrie and paganism.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctors, and supposing with himselfe, that they too onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare ensuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinawus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellows-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith whole consented to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselves, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the moze profit and ease of the people, and some what lesse trauell also for themselves, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chiefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthy lie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Poike, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Githelmus, who went (as I read) into Armoric, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succeeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the first librarie nere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Poike, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerleon vpon the river Wike, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgania, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time bene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now rased to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steads by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certaintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers doe remember. In

the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my native citie to speake a little: for although it may and doth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will some make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornhill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. and yeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie confession of the asseuerations of the other. But herein (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that

of Apollo in the west, the word Cornhill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may castie be mistaken for Whorney. For as the word Whorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, because of the wildnesse and bushinesse of the soile, so I do not read of anie street in London called Cornhill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherefore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeres, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arrivall of Augustine. Read also his appendix in lib. 4. Pontif. where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ, which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generally receiued the faith, and where the gospell was first preached without inhibition of his prince. Wholybeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people embraced the word with gracesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleued at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the proceeding of the king so seuer, as that he enforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganism: but onelie this freedom was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profess the Gospell, in whose testimony, if need had bene, I doubt not to asseime, but that he would haue shed also his blood, as did his neere Emerita, who being constant aboue the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yield hir selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrils of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some braxe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered, that as it was little to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, dailely remoued from the same: so after baptism and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we doe walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuer discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the waies of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke by the good seed sowne in our minds, and either enforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper securitie than before, or else to become more Atheists, which is a great deale worse.

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and seeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to lay any moze vpon the necks of the new conuers of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had already set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus

A zealous
prince maketh
feruent
subjects.

Faganus.
Dinawus.
Aaron.

Radulphus
de la noir
alias Niger.

3. Cheefe
Bishops in
Britaine.

Theonus.
Theodosius
London.
Poike.
Caerleon.

Britaine
the first
prouince that
receiued the
Gospell generally.

Emerita
neere vnto
Lucius.

Lucius sent
againe
to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

The wild-
dome of
Eleutherus.

and Vesprouius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the scriptures for the government of his church already in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole kingdom, if he would submit himselfe, to yeeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partly extant, and partly perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfully translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doe deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his communitie, in the historie of our nation.

Epistle of
Vesprouius
to the
Britons

Psal. 24.

Psal. 45.

Psal. 71.

There
wanteth.

Psal. 55.

You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vze within your realme and kingdom. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may esteem reuerend, but those of God can neuer be found fault withall. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the counsell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdom, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the conuasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath anointed thee with oile of gladnesse above thy fellows. And againe, according to the saying of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdom. The gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdom of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to chearfully and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would doe them wrong, and keeping them from the mallice of such as be their enemies. Vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise by earlie to banquet and fed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & wickednesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloodthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue forth halfe their daies. By feeding I vnderstand gluttonie, by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saying of Salomon the king; Wisedome entrencheth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shall be a king whilst you rule well, but if you doe otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterly forgo it, which God forbiddeth. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdom of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdom. Who with the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, &c.

Albane.
Amphibalus.
Julius.
Aaron.

Whereto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie pretie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordained to saluation, increased dailey more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Julius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, because of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldly men.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdom, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall see (if they list to looke) how far they haue bene deceived.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiours) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Dioclesian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperor of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whom the French call Lucion, by means of a quarrell growne betwene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a fraie or by some other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitaine in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldly sorrow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peradventure neuer regard of hell. Finally he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of prayer wherein to serue the living God, which after sundrie alterations came in process of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

Chlorus had
three sonnes,
& a daughter
by Helena.

Lucion be-
cometh a
christian.

Lucion a
bishop.

In this also he and diuers other of his friends continued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant, his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to see, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Wherevnto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and nere vnto the citie Augusta converted the Curienfes vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be seene at Gloucester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, doe yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may resort vnto Bouchet in his first booke, and fifth chapter of the Annales of Aquitaine, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, nere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appereth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neckham in his most excellent treatise *De sapientia diuina*, setteth downe this Distichon:

Hermannus
Schedelius.
Bruchius
cap. 3.

Festum Lu-
cionis.
John Bou-
chet.

Emerita
martyred
in Rhetia.

*Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit mania Brute tua.*

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kindred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whom he nameth Cyrinenfis. But then will not the historie agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Hereticke and monasticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Vindelicians, wherof Schedelius and other doe make mention. But as each riuer the farther it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuulets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in proceſſe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing traueled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finally returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holiness than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous seed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Island, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Iesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselves, whereby they cannot discern, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthy loue or hatred. Nevertheless it behoueth the goodlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freely granted through Iesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as do beleue.

Thus we see how new denises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue bene perceiued also from time to time, & thence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the reherfall of anie new inconueniences.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrillines, and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in Monte Cassino, about the 524. of Christ, & was finally so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In proceſſe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countryman reformed the said Benedictine profession greatly decayed in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went off into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 20000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men contained in the same, to be

Anachorites, Heremites, Cyrillines, Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

10000. which would make a pretie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saines also haue bene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgrauce setteth down, & other like wise remembered in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Exeter, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twise as long.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notable knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certaine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whom for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small pece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisdom of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God: and what is learning except it be handmaide to veritie and sound iudgement: Therefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit: Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a proud founde clearke to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thenceforth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskillfull and ignorant.

This also is certaine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odder, there were made more than 2100. monkes gathered together in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise as Paule calleth it that thereby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more goodlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professors liued to themselves, their tombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continually for their owne linings, at vacant times from praier (as did Scapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whom he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their lines also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricius seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius upheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous scholemaisters of error out of this life: hoping

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

Roger Bakon his saying of the preachers of his time who were the best labors and the worst doctores.

More than 2100. monkes in the College of Abbat of Bangor, in whose territories the parish of Bangor was.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Germanus Lupus, in his Parish.

hoping that by such meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in procelle of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countreimen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnknowned, nor not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beaustie image (*Cum pene inteso*), and as if he had bene circumcised, whom they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in manner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie shame vnto the most ancient and sober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could also take no place, and the shepe of his pasture would receiue no wholesome fodder, it pleased his maiestie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in so much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monkes, whereby it was to be seene, how they fell from the truth into heresie, and from one heresie still into another, till at the last they were dyolued altogether in the pits of error digged by by Antichrist, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of liuing water to such as embraced the same.

Augustine
the monke.

Augustine.

This Augustine, after his arriual, conuerted the Saxons in deed from paganism, but as the prouerbe saith, bringing them out of Gods blessing into the waime sunne, he also imbued them with no lesse hurtfull superstition, than they did know before: for beside the onelie name of Christ, and external contempt of their yssinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) made an exchange from grosse to subtill treacherie, from open to secret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for their soules health, and the stablishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession, the holie scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow. But what cared he: sith he got the great fish for which he did cast his boke, and so great was the fish that he caught in deed, that within the space of 1000. yeares, and lesse, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the best soile of the Iland, which was wholie bestowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched since his time, as may hereafter appeere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c. In the meane season what successe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were spoiled by enemies, their houses burned by casualtie, and brethren consumed with pestilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruase, and the rest of their owne historiographers. And so sore did the pestilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whose daies the priests, clerks and monkes sang their seruice together in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie siue alius, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceived and executed against that malignant generation. It came also to passe at the last, that men vsed to praie for helpe at the said Augustines tombe (although afterward Thomas Becket a netter saint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelstane was one, whom Elnodus the abbat staid so long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his soldiours waiting for his comming, and supposing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an assault and set fire vpon the house.

Monkes of
Canturbu-
rie plagued.Meates,
Pictes,
Caledo-
nians.

Whilist these things were thus in hand, in the south part of Albion, the Meates, Pictes, and Caledonians, which lie beyond the Scottish sea, receiued also the faith, by preaching of such christian elders as aduentured thither daillie, who trauelled not without great successe and increase of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this prosperous attempt passed all mens expe-

ctation, for that these nations were in those daies reputed wild, sauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie then well-minded people (as the wild Irish are in my time) and such were they (to saie the truth) in deed, as neither the sugred courtlesie, nor sharpe swords of the Romans could mollifie or restraime from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cause also in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie cast them off as an vnprofitable, brutish, & vntamable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be described, separated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill poztion.

This conuersion of the north parts fell out in the first yeare before the warres that Scuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after the death of our sauour Iesus Christ. From thenceforth also the christian religion continued still among them, by the diligent care of their pastors and bishops (after the vse of the churches of the south part of this Iland) till the Romane shepheards sought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our countreimen, whereby in the end he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done already in England: and in stead of the same did furnish it vp with those of his pontificall see, although there was great contention, and no lesse blood shed made amongst them, before it could be brought to passe, as by the histories of both nations yet extant may be seene.

In the time of Celestine bishop of Rome, who saie in the 423. of Christ, one Paladius a Grecian boine (to whom Cyxill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in spiritibus*) and sometime discipule to Iohn 24. bishop of Jerusalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to suppress the Pelagian heresie, which not a little molested the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguishting of the aforesaid opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotland, supposing no lesse, but after he had trauelled somewhat in confutation of the Pelagians in those parts, he should easilie persuaide that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would haue done before hand in the south. But as Fastidius Priscus archbishop of London, and his Suffragans resisted him here; so did the Scottish prelates withstand him there also in this behalfe: howbeit, because of the authoritie of his commission, grauitie of personage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleasant persuation (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his harpe, and Hercules such as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their successors also from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather also for that he came from Rome) to take him for their chiefe apostle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Christ, as the truth of their historie doth verie well confirme.

Thus we see what religion hath from time to time bene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Christ came first into our countrie. Howbeit as in procelle of time it was ouershadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantasticall imaginations of man, so it daillie wared worse & worse, till that it pleased God to refoze the preaching of his gospel in our daies, whereby the man of sinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romish sathan, and his popish adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermost of their power, yelding vp their hearts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the holy-ghost. But such is their peruerse ignorance (notwithstanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him already 2. Thes. 2. calling him (as I said) the man of sinne, and saieing that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himselfe

Scotland
conuerted to
the faith of
Christ.

Paladius.

The first at-
tempt of the
bishop of
Rome to
bring Scot-
land vnder
his obedi-
ence.Fastidius bi-
shop of Lon-
don.Paladius re-
compted for
the apostle
of the Scots.

himselfe in his challenge of power, as if he were God, under pretence of zeale vnto true religion, that they will not giue care vnto the truth, but rather that their eares and their eyes from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be drawne out of his snares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuersions and alterations of the estate of the common-wealth of Britaine, sithens the time of Samothies.

Here is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decay, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose doth come to passe; in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Iohannus Camerarius, who in his first booke *De ostentis* intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; also of the beard that suddenly grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. Nam (saith he) *descriptas esse diuinitus etates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finis, praeclit prius quam existeret nouationem in deterius euenturam verum, quaeque indies minus ac minus nihili cordi essent. Eminentur igitur cometa diuinitus, et visibilia dum supra nos conspecti quandiu placuit Deo inferuntur.* Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie odd numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible manner vnto our fraille & humane capacitie. Neuerthelesse, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of numbers with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euents vnto manifest causes precedent, doth scosse at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as inturie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoeuer Aristotle getteth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the cheefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, doth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle doth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they precede those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historiack methode, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuersions of common-wealths, doth seeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he manuellith that no Grecian or Latine Academie, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as appertine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Whereby he sheweth himselfe vpon

the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fatal; to wit: five vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sickness, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them; or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmetike (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer invented by him) againe into the world. But we Christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbly and earnestly whom it pleaseth him. Neuerthelesse, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as *Indices* than *Causas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first coming in of Samothies into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I utterly denie them to be any causes, or of themselves to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to uphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, thereby to be farther resolved, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose, first because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of tongues was the originall cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any odds remaining. From hence also vnto the coming of Samothies into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arriual in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossest none, neither intrenched vpon any. From Samothies vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also conuertheth with the 590. after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the soueraintie of this Ile restor'd againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knotone, happened by Brute, betweene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares; for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion, so that if you account him to come hither in the 601. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

taine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more pccise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiecti- on, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, whereupon ensued cruell bloodshed betwene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Caesar into this Iland (whereat our seru- tude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthily take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Caesar we haue 54. or five nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion reboundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the Ro- mane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Bri- tains chose them a king, and betooke themselves to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which daile made hauocke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arrived here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great compa- nies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaye and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and drave vs out of our liuings. Whereby we see therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequels is too plain. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the com- ming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserable afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 46. sep- tenaries, which being expired, they established them- selves in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time la- sting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you see how these numbers do hold exactly vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Con- querour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extingui- shed in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prologed, as in direction and pro- gression astronomicall is often times perceived. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, whereupon ensued the resignati- on of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposi- tion of Richard. 2. and usurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspira- cie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betwene the houses of York and Lancaster (wherein foure score and 00 persons of the blood royal were slaine and made atwaie first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, whose murder seemed to make free passage to the said house) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of York, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the union of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seven multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab A- ramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptism of Luci- us, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganism, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had bene baptised, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceived. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in po- perie, which increased and continued till Wickliffe with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospel, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeld 85. nouenaries exat- lie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175. yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, wherevnto I would ad the time of restoring the gospel by Quene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing contained in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the di- uine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.

Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

There are nere vnto, or not ve- rie farre from the coasts of Bri- taine many faire Ilands, wher- of Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) seeme to be the chiefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than o- ther, diuers in like sort enuira- ned continually with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onlie to intreat, although not a few of them be I- lands but at the fload) and other finally be clipped parti- ly by the fresh and partly by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Ilands (for so I call them that are en- uironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitful in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, be- cause they are onlie replenished with conies, and these of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of house- hold) without either man or woman otherwise inha- biting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Ilands haue townes and parish-churches, with- in their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and be- side all this, are so enriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants do reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, because mine informati- ons are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did ex- tend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certaine which lie nere together, as it were by heapes and clus- ters, I hope none will readilye denie. Of these also those called the Nesiada, Insula Scylurum, Sileustra, Syllana, now the Sorlings, and Isles of Silley, lieng be- yond Cornwall are one, and containeth in number one hundred and fourtie and seauen (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelles and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subiect vnto Ire- land are another, which are said to be 43. sitat vpon the west side of this Iland, betwene Ireland & Scot- land, and of which there are some that repute Anglesey, Mona

Henrie. 8.
Marie.

Nesiada;
Insula
Scylurum.
Sileustra.
Syllana.
Sorlinga.
Sylley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meuana.
Orchades.

Mona Caſaris, and other lieng betwene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluſter or bunch conſiſteth of thoſe that are called the Orkneyes, and theſe lie vpon the northweſt point of Scotland, being 31. *aldis* 28. in number, as for the reſt they lie ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courſes ſhall come about. There are alſo the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther diſtant from them, of which Iohn Frobuſer I doubt not touched vpon ſome in his volage to *Meta Incognita*: but for ſomuch as I muſt ſpeake of the Shetlands hereafter, I do not meane to ſpend anie time about them as yet.

There haue bene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, *De inſulis Britannia*, as Caſar doth confeſſe. The like alſo may be ſene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that ſhould ſet forth an exact treatiſe of each of them in order, and among other tell of cer- teine deſert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to ſun- drie gods and goddeſſes, but of one eſpeciallie, where Briareus ſhould hold Saturne and manie other ſpirits faſt bound with the chaines of an heauie ſkepe, as he heard, of which ſome die now and then, by meane where- of the aire becommeth maruellouſlie troubled, &c: as you may ſee in Plutarch *De ceſſatione oraculorum*, &c. But ſith thoſe bookes are now perished, and the moſt of the ſaid Ilands remaine bitterlie vnknoſen, euen to our owne ſelues (for who is able in our time to ſay where is Glora, Huerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Aſarea, Barſa, Ifandium, Icelis, Xantiſina, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c?) theſe names onlie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I ſaie their places not ſo much as heard of in our daies. I meane (God willing) to ſet downe ſo manie of them with their commodities, as I do either know by Leland, or am otherwiſe inſtructed of by ſuch as are of credit. Herein alſo I will touch at large thoſe that are moſt famous, and by theſe paſſe over ſuch as are obſcure and vnknoſen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined courſe (for I neuer failed it) by the ſouth part of the Iland into the weſt. From thence in like ſort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into the fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I will ſtrike ſaile, and ſafelie be ſet a ſhoare, that haue often in this volage wanted water, but oftener bene ſet a ground, eſpeciallie on the Scottiſh ſide.

In beginning therefore, with ſuch as lie in the mouth of the aforeſaid riuer, I muſt needs paſſe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compaſſe of my deſcription at this time, but almoſt an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninſulas, and I do english a Wyland, vſing the word for ſuch as a man may go into dze-footed at the full ſea, or on hoſſe- backe at the low water without anie boat or veſſell: and ſuch a one almoſt is Rochford hundred in Eſſex alſo, yet not at this time to be ſpoken of, becauſe not the ſea onelie but the freſh water alſo doth in maner enuiron it, and is the chiefe occaſion wherefore it is called an Iland. This How lieth between Cliffe (in old time called Clouetho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaite that goeth along by Rocheſter, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering ſea-men ſhall find durt ynow.

Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Ile ſuppoſed to be ſome miles in length, and two in breadth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, containing ſeauen miles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborow, and a park, beſide foure townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoile being thoroughlie ſed with ſhepe, verie well

woodded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Chey- ney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtene miles by water from Rocheſter, but the caſtell is ſix- teene, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Ilands, where- of the one is called Elmefie, and the more eaſterlie Her- tefie. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Laſh of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuerham, and Shepey reteineth one eſpeciall Bailie of hir owne.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculphers (or territo- rie belonging in time paſt to one Raculphus, who ere- cted an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Here vpon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Achanatos, becauſe ſerpents are ſuppoſed not to liue in the ſame, howbeit ſith it is not enuironed with the ſea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borrow of my determination, and deſcribe it as I go, becauſe it is ſo fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue contained 600. families, which are all one with Hydlands, *Bloughlands, Car- rucates, or Temeſwares. He addeth alſo that it is di- uided from our continent, by the riuer called Want- ſume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be paſ- ſed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore ſaith, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much leſſe in breadth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much about ſeauen miles from Nordmuth to Sandwiche, and foure in breadth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the ſouth to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland alſo noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet other- wiſe it is verie fruitfull, and beſide that it wanteth ſeu other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſaid to be found there. Herein alſo did Auguſtine the monke firſt ar- rive, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and after- ward in proceſſe of time, sundry religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoile much bettered (as the ſuper- ſtitious ſuppoſed) by the ſteps of that holy man, & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. pariſh churches at the leaſt in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicho- las, Birdington, S. Iohns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Pe- ters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minſter, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof M. Lambert hath writ- ten at large in his deſcription of Kent, and placed the ſame in the Laſh of ſaint Auguſtine and hundred of Kingſlow, as may eaſilie be ſene to him that will per- uſe it.

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Repta- ceſter, ſtood alſo in this Iland, but now thorough alte- ration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richborough, and as it ſhould ſeme builded vpon an in- different ſoile or high ground. The large bricke alſo yet to be ſene there, in the ruinous walles, declare et- ther the Romane or the old Britiſh workmanſhip. But as time decayeth all things, ſo Rutupium named Ruptimud is now become deſolate, and out of the duſt thereof Sandwiche produced, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place where Reptaceſter ſtood. The old writers affirme, how Arthure & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherein Gwallon or Gawan was ſlaine; at which time the ſaid rebell came againſt his ſouereigne with 70000. Brits, Scots, Triſh, Norwegians, & and with Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto bene found there, as is daile that of the Romanes, whereof manie peces of ſilver and gold, ſo well as of braſſe, copper, and other metfall haue often bene thewed vnto me. It ſhould appeere in like ſort, that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome do not a lit- tle confirme by theſe words of Lucane, to be read in his ſixt booke ſone after the beginning:

Elmefie,
Hertefie.

Sturcey.
Thanet.

* In En-
compreſſe
the word
Hyde or
Hydeland,
was neuer
in uſe in old
time as in o-
ther places,
but for ſith
they viſed the
word Car-
care or Car-
ware, or
Teme, and
theſe were of
no leſſe com-
paſſe than an
Hydeland.
Ex Hingon
de blane Mo-
nacho Petri-
bus genſ.

Rutupium.

How.

Greane.

Shepey.

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*Aut vagat cum Terhis, Rutupināq. littora feruent,
Pnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

The last
broke of one
couple and
first of an
other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doe worke,
And Calidons of British blood,
the troubled waues beguile.

Selesley of
Seles there
taken.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast nere
Andredefwald, which in time past was called Littus
Calidonium of that wood or forest, as Leland also
confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie
thing curiously in these by-matters, so in returning a
gain to my purpose, and taking my journey toward
the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesley, which some-
time (as it should seeme) hath bene a noble Island, but
now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherein the cheefe
see of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the
space of thre hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder
twentie bishops.

Thorne.

Haling.

Port.

Wight.
Guidh.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene
the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easter-
lie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of
all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the
Thorne, we touched vpon the Halting, which is bigger
than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situate of
the same denomination beside another, whose name I
remember not. By west also of the Halting lieth the
Port (the greatest of the thre already mentioned) and
in this standeth Portsmouth and Kingshead, whereof al-
so our Leland, saith thus: Port Isle is cut from the
shore by an arme of the maine haven, which breaketh
out about thre miles about Portsmouth, and goeth by
two miles or more by moorish ground to a place called
Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth.
Then breaketh there out another creeke from the
maine sea, about Auant haven, which gulleth by almost
to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so
that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Isle, which
Island is in length six miles, and thre miles in bredth,
verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood,
and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also
another Island north north-west of Port Isle, which is
now so worne and washed awaie with the working of
the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with
water, and thereby made vnpassable. Finally being
past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come
by another, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & south-
east of Baie haven, whereof I find nothing worthy to
be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie af-
firmeth in his Geographical tables of all those Islands
which enuiron our Albion.

The Wight is called in Latine *Velis*, but in the
British speech Guidh, that is to saie, Cese or easie to be
sene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, because that by a
breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine,
as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesey from Wales,
Jonsenelle from Essex, & Ruinborough from Kent. It
lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it
is fardest off) by five miles & a halfe, but where it com-
meth nearest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at
the cut ouer betweene Hirst castell and a place called
Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doe report. It con-
teineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it
hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrees and
27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and
50.00 minutes from the west point, as experience hath
confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie,
and such as follow his assertions in the same. In forme,
it representeth almost an eg, and so well is it inhabited
with mere English at this present, that there are thir-
tie six townes, villages and castles to be found therein,
beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their
Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats,
as the livings left are able to sustaine. The names of
the parishes in the Wight are these.

1	Petworth, a chap.	15	Pottesson.	p.	
2	Caistrizosie.	b.	16	Parmouth.	p.
3	Portwood.		17	Thorley.	b.
4	Arrium.	b.	18	Shalsete.	b.
5	Goddehill.	b.	19	Whippingham.	p.
6	Whitwell.		20	Wotton.	p.
7	S. Laurence.	p.	21	Chale.	p.
8	Highton.	p.	22	Kingston.	p.
9	Brading.	b.	23	Shorwell.	p.
10	Petworth.	b.	24	Catroube.	p.
11	S. Helene.	b.	25	Wosse.	p.
12	Pauerland.	p.	26	Wirston.	p.
13	Calborne.	p.	27	Wentred.	p.
14	Bonechurch.	p.			

Is signifi-
eth parlo-
nages, Cl. vi.
carages.

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie
of Hamthire, but in spiritual cases it yeldeth obe-
dience to the see of Winchester, whereof it is a Deane-
rie. As for the soile of the whole Island, it is verie fruit-
full, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie
full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no
plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow ground, wild
foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby
the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was
first ruled by a feuerall king, and afterwards wonne
from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time
as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In pro-
cess of time also it was gotten from the Romans by
the kings of Sussex, who held the soueraintie of the
same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it
was wonne also from them, in the time of Adhelwold,
the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla,
who killed Aruald that reigned there, and refered the
soueraintie of that Isle to himselfe and his successors
for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. fa-
milies in that Island, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue
300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Dorke, exhorting
him to erect a church there, and preach the gospel also to
the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner perfor-
med, but according to the prescriptions of the church of
Rome, whereunto he yeldest himselfe vassall and feo-
darte: so that this Isle by Wilfride was first conuerted
to the faith, though the last of all other that hearken-
ed vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the
parricide was the first Saxon prince that adventu-
red to sie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he
was driven by Kenwalch of the West Saxons, who made
great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him
to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn,
in the rebellious sit of his Barons, practised by the
clergie: the said Island being as then in possession of
the Forsts, as some doe write that haue handled it of
purpose. The first Earle of this Island that I doe read
of, was one Baldwine de Betoun, who married for his
second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle
of Aumarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie,
she was married the second time to Earle Maundeule,
and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Ship-
ton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the
time of king Richard the first. Whereby it came to passe
also, that the Forsts were Carls of Aumarle, Wight,
and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth
Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age,
with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through
monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the
Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his
successors, untill Henrie the first, about the twentieth of
his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the
lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of
Fardesey and Cardesey with his owne hands, and
therunto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of
Warwike with the titles of Comes comitum Anglie,
lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of
Wristow (which castell was sometime taken from his
ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy
these

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these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seven yeeres after his father.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come unto Dole haucn, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyfy, in which was sometime a parish-church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Bunt Keyfy.

Portland.

We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Wyland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Weymouth; the Colwy, a prettie fertile pece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score households in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patron of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the pece. The people there are no lesse excellent singers of stoncs than were the Baileues, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their sings, and therefore their parents used to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were fure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Island, and yet otherwise are verie couctous. And whereas in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet doe they burne much colw doing dyed in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vntied to the maine, and likelie per long to be cut off againe.

Yardley. Gardesey.

Yardley.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Colwy, betwene Colford and Lime, of which for the finallesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Yardley, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appurtenances appertained in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betwene H. John of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Horrible surtther.

Gardesey.

Of these two, Yardley is the greatest, an Island hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men doe con- texture. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardesey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Quene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or prest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the exceeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapter, then contending manifestlie against God for the maintenance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a godly man- childe from hir, with such force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one to- mentor and aduersarie to another to loke vpon, whose eyes being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & wherevnto it mi-

nistred (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this lat- ter also, there haue bene in times past, fine religious houses, and nine castles, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Islands, which Henry the second in his donation calleth Insuletas, beside verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon Gardesey, an- other is named the Corner, which hath a castell not passing an arrow shot from Gardesey. The Serke also is be- twene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an isthmus or Stritland, wherein was a religious house, & therewithall great store of conies.

S. Hilaries.

Corner.

Serke.

Brehoc.

Gytho.

Hermes.

Burhoo, all as the Ile of rats.

Turkie co- nies.

There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Hermes, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was con- uerted into an house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise nere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betwene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Island. Some are of the opinion that there hath bene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but herof I find no perfect warrantie that I may safelye trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they draue a- way the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driven out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now pertaining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And because the Island- ers were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was constrained to send an armie of men to destroye that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onlie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locustes and also by grasshoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge cater- pillar. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Ethiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bees, as waspes had almost driven the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Alianus intreateth) is most wonderfull, that when the Cretences were cha- sed out of a famous citie of their Island by infinit num- bers of bees, the said bees converted their houses into hives, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reserued their honie. Which things being dulie considered, I doe not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I say that I doe not warrant the effect, because I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

Causes of the desolati- on of sundrie cities and townes.

Alderney.

Comments. Brit.

Beside this there is mozeouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about seven miles in compasse, wher- in a prest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore teeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland doth report. Cretes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them already in the begin- ning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine wherevnto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christo- phers tooth, but it was one of his eie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same

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same. S. August. de ciuit. lib. 18. cap. 9. writeth in like sort of such another found upon the coast of Vicia; and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his first Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Aeneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and onerth to him. Virgil also noteth no lesse in his stone deuise, but Luuenal briefely comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

*Saxa inclinat per humum quæ sita lætæris
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem; quæ sita Turhus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tyides percussit pondere vocam
Aeneas: sed quæ valeant emittere dextra
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc vix iam decrescerebat Homerus,
Terramalos homines nunc educat, atque puillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque asperit, ridet, & audit.*

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a pette towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants doe reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwile supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Isles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardssey and Jardssey, untill the tyme of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardssey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nether vnto the coast of England (for these doe lie about the verie middelt of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch; or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Dole, whither men saile from the Fromonth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Pert to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Isles, as Alleton rocke nere vnto Peritozie, Horestan Ile a mile from Peritozie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritozie toward Teygne-mouth, and also Chesser, otherwile called Plegimund-ham: but how (to saie truth) where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them together, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, or therwile Spowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well nere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well coming out of the rocks, which is worthe to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreover in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Lown, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betwene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Pzomontorie is such another named the Craefe, wherein is great store of gullies & sea foule. As for Inis Pyenin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from L. i. yards, and containeth not about two acres of ground, from which Pzotolin is not far distant, and wherein is a pore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pzendant in the point of Falmouth haue) we

came at last to saint Michaels mount, wherof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

The compasse of the roat of the mount of saint Michaels not much more than halfe an mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and breedeth conies, the rest due high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe flood, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first, and then eastward to the utter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaels, and in the east side another of our ladie. Spanie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north north-west side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Penfard; are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers rots and stubs of trees, beside helven stone, sometimes of boxes & wine-wes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie bene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt-water doth now rule and beare the maiestie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Spowthole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Spowthole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Wort Enis, that is, *Portus insule*, wherof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes nere vnto the same there hath bene found of late, speare heds, battell aces, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and carlelie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheselic betwene Spowthole and Penfard;

Having thus passed ouer verie nere all such Isles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardssey) and carieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the south-east wind often thewe vpon poze travellers in those parts, as the south and south-west doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skillfull of our rodes and harboroules. Howbeit such was our necessity in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Acheltane, when he suboued them (and some after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vowe made when he enterprisid this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Percusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Sylley Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men doe account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundredth fortie seauen in sight, wherof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middelt of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduilement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundredth fortie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Wolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthe to haue anie time spent about

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius
Aen. 12.

Bruchsey.

Mount
Iland.

S. Nicholas
Iland.

Craefe.
Inis Pye-
nin.

S. Michaels
mount.

S. Clements
Ile.

Sylley Iles
or Rocks.

The description of Britaine.

34

their particular descriptions, I will *honelic* touch the greatest, and those that lie together (as I said) in manner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile.

The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about five miles over, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poze towne belonging thereto, of threescore households, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies, wild swans, puffers, gullies, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Porman rocke, and S. Maries found unto Agnus Ile, which is six miles over, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of five or six households, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left alive. There are also two other small Ilands, betwene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthy relation: for as both of them ioind together are not comparable to the said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, whereof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreover the Minwifand, from whence we passe by the Smithy found, (leaving these little Ilands on the left hand, unto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rousfian, Rousfuar, and the Cregwin, which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelic, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, saving of a short kind of grasse, or here & there some fizes wheron their conies do feed.

Agnus Ile.

Annot.

Minwifand.
Smithy found.
Suartigan.
Rousfian.
Rousfuar.
Cregwin.

Moncarthar.
Inis Welbeck.
Suechiall.
Rat Iland.
Anwall.
Brier.

Leaving therefore these desert paces, we incline a little toward the north-west, where we stumble or run upon Moncarthar, Inis Welbeck, & Suechiall. We came in like sort unto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anye hostles, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured & eaten up, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreover the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onelic excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth forth no lesse sort of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland both of rats, whereof I greatlie marnell.

Rusco.
Inis widdo.

Round Iland.
S. Lides.
Nocho.
Auing.
Tyan.

S. Martines.

Knolworth.
Sniuiluer.
Menwetha.
Vollis. 1.
Surwihe.
Vollis. 2.
Archurs Ile.
Guiniliuer.
Nenech.
Gothrois.

Up north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Labell or Ipland stretching out toward the south-west, called Inis widdon. This Rusco is verie nere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreover an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Pert unto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile over, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is some indifferent store) the Nocho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile over, which is a iust halfe lesse than the Nocho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next unto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out to the north-east into the south-west, as Knolworth, Sniuiluer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Archurs Ile, Guiniliuer, Nenech, Gothrois.

that the Isles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lordes, than anye other whatsoever, within the compasse of our Ile, or nere unto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Isles are supposed to be a notable safeguard to the coast of Cornewall, so in diuerse of their great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like manner such plentie of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten groates. Howbeit their cheefe commodity is made by Neigh, which they dye, cut in pices, and carie over into little Brittain, where they exchange it there, for salt, canvas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they do stand in need of. A like trade haue some of them also, with Buchborne or dyed whiting, as I heare. But the author of this report did not haue enough to passe over that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Isles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, unto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe unto the west point of Wales, continuing still our boiage along by on the west coast of Brittain, till we come to the Soluicy whereat the kingdomes part, & from which south on we must touch such Ilands as lie upon the west and north thore, till we be come againe unto the Segith sea, and to our owne dominions.

Little Iland in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, because Helenus the son of Priamus who arrived here with White lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) untill we come unto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one little Ipland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall understand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farther thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Woke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a pære in the eastside thereof, but the pære is sore thoked with sand, as is the whole thore furthermore from S. Iles unto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Ipland is now covered with sands, which the sea casteth up, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

Helenus.
Priamus.

Pendinas.

There are also two rocks nere unto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort do repute and take for Isles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane unto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Steppholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes being in deed parcels of ground and low foiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Steppholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or five miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do seeme to be the broadest.

It should seeme by some that they are not worthy to be placed among Ilands: yet other some are of opinion, that they are not altogether so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse upon that riuer, neither do

do

Barri.

do I read of any other Isles which lie by east of these, save onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barro, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a slight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine upon the side, whereunto if a man do laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellows, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Barri is a slight shot from the shore.

Dunwen.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henroffer, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire miles, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnto the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Islands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish church with a spire steeple, and a pretie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales: Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue bene of an old priorie sometimes called Lile, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onlie the capitaine, but hath thereto likewise, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little above fiftene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldee, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Devonshire. Moreover in this Iland is great plentie of shepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage, likewise much Sampere upon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrells. And albeit that there be not scarce fourtie householdes in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may keepe off thousands of their enemies, because it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onlie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Islands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Kat Ile; the first is but a little plot lying at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blochehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford haueu upon the east side. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middell of the haueu, at another point is Kat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie north west of Milford haueu a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, because they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford haueu. Beside these also we found the Watchholme, Stockeholme, Gidland, and Gresholme Isles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwene Ramsey and the point, of all which Isles and such rocks as are offensive to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Caldee.

Londy.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Davids in Wales (whereunto we must needs come, after we be past another little one, which some men do call Gresholme) lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a

late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Denbosheshire, as it is vnto S. Davids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England lib. 8. saith that it contained thre Isles, whereof the bishop of S. Davids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Davids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairnarden both the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for shepe and hoxses, but not for other horned beastes which lacke their upper teeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot awaie, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a cewple of Isles, which do lie upon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we guessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthe to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much above fift acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Pentlin, Myrach, or Mereroffe, situat in manner betwixt Tudfall or Tudall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for hoxses, whereof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Iland lying ouer against Periminc the south west point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did fle to saue themselves, when 2100. of their fellows were slaine by the Saron princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester rased to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Brittons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the north west, till we came to Caer Ierlenrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discern whether of both it was, because the wind blew hard at south west, the morning was mistie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, halsted awaie vnto Anglesey, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

Tudfall.

Pentlin.

Gwelyn.

This Iland (which Tacitus misseeth no doubt for Mona Cesaris, and so doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseeth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onlie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peradventure was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or praile of some king that reigned there. Whereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constrained at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach wared so great, that no such passage could anie longer be maintained. But as these things do either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to my

Anglesey cut from Wales by working of the sea.

Angleſei.

my matter) Angleſei is found to be full ſo great as the
 Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmount-
 ing it, as that alſo which Caſar calleth Mona in fruit-
 fulneſſe of ſoile by manie an hundred fold. In old time
 it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to
 Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their
 prouiſion of corne. In like maner the Welſhmen
 themſelves called it the mother of their countrie, for gi-
 uing their minds wholie to paſſurage, as the moſt eaſie
 and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected til-
 lage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this
 Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to
 receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus ſaith that the
 Ile of Angleſei was no leſſe ſufficient to miniſter
 graine for the ſuſtentation of all the men of Wales,
 than the mountaines called Eleri or Snowdon in
 Northwales were to yeld plenty of paſture for all the
 cattell whatſoeuer within the aforeſaid compaſſe, if
 they were brought together and leſt vpon the ſame. It
 contained mozeouer ſo manie towneſ welndere, as
 there be daies in a yeare, which ſome conuerting into
 Cantreds haue accounted but for thre, as Gyraldus
 ſaith. Howbeit, as there haue bene I ſay 363. towneſ
 in Angleſei, ſo now a great part of that reckoning is
 vtterlie ſwonne, and ſo far gone to decaie, that the be-
 rie ruines of them are vnnearth to be ſene & diſcerned:
 and yet it ſeemeth to be meetlie well inhabited. Leland
 noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundredes in compariſon to
 that they were in time paſt, addeth (ſo far as I remem-
 ber) that there are fix of them in Angleſei, as Menay,
 Maltraith, Liuo, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaichin:
 herevnto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in old time
 vnto the kingdomes of Guinhed or Northwales, and
 that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the
 ſouthweſt ſide of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held
 euermore their palaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that
 the kings of Northwales were for a long time called
 kings of Aberfraw, as the Welſhmen named the
 kings of England kings of London, till better inſtru-
 ction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Angleſei many towneſ and villages,
 whoſe names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto:
 wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall
 of ſo many as we viewed in ſailing about the coaſts,
 and otherwiſe heard report of by ſuch as I haue talked
 withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gef-
 ni (which riſeth at northeaſt about Gefni or Gwenni,
 20. miles at the leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by
 Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaum-
 marais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby
 runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (ſtan-
 ding in the promontorie) Gwiſen, Aberfraw, and Cair
 Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter ſtand as it
 were in a nuke betwene the Gwenni water, and the
 Fraw, wherevpon Aberfraw is ſituate. Within the
 Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of
 Criſtial ſtanding vpon the ſame water, of Teſti, of La-
 nerdimedh, Lactenſarwy and Bodedrin, but of all
 theſe theſe is now Beaumarais, which was builded
 ſometime by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a
 ſtrong caſtell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land
 in quiet. There are alſo as Leland ſaith 37. pariſh
 churches beſide 69. chappels, that is, a hundredeth in all.
 But herof I can ſaie little, for lacke of iuſt inſtruction.
 In time paſt, the people of this Ile vſed not to ſeueral
 their grounds, but now they dig ſtonie hillocks, and
 with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much
 like to thoſe of Deuonſhire, ſith they want hedg-
 bote, fire bote, and houſe bote, or (to ſaie at one word)
 timber, buſhes and trees. As for wine, it is ſo plenty-
 full and good cheape there moſt commonlie as in Lon-
 don, though the great recourſe of merchants from
 France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforeſaid Iland.
 The ſelfeſhlike wiſe of ſuch cattell as is bred there, wher-

of we haue ſtoze pearlie brought vnto Cole faſte in
 Eſſex is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent pa-
 ſture, and ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romans in
 time paſt, that Columella did not onelie commend
 and preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the em-
 perours themſelves being nere hand, alſo cauſed their
 prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſei, to ſerue
 vpon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent beaſt.
 It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to
 meane the Ile of Engliſhmen, becauſe they wan it in
 the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle
 of Cheſter, and Hugh of Shrewſburie. Howbeit they
 recovered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when
 they ſpoiled the citie of Gloceſter, ranſacked Shrewſ-
 burie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage,
 in which voyage alſo they were holpen greatly by the
 Britiſhmen, who after thre yeares ioined with them a-
 gaine, and ſue the earle of Shrewſburie (which then
 liued) with great crueltie. The Welſhmen call it Tire-
 mone and Mon, and herein likewiſe is a promontorie
 or Wyland, called Holie head (which hath in time paſt
 bene named Cair kybi, of Kyby a monke that dwel-
 led there) from whence the readieſt paſſage is common-
 lie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of
 which Ile I will not ſpeake at this time, leaſt I
 ſhould bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie ſaith,
 lib. 4. cap. 16. that it lieth not farre off from and ouer
 againſt the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the weſt
 coaſt of our Iland, and euen ſo farre as Dunbritton,
 and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons
 named it Enyllnach, or holie Ile, of the number of
 carcasses of holie men, which they affirme to haue
 bene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little,
 wherein women had offended, that they might not
 come thither, or at the leaſt wiſe returne from thence
 without ſome notable reproch or ſhame vnto their bo-
 dies. By ſouth alſo of Hilarie point, ſomewhat incli-
 ning toward the eaſt, lieth Inis Lygod, a ſmall thing
 (God wot) and therefore not worthe great remem-
 40 bance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing
 elſe enforced the memoriaſl thereof, but onelie the
 number and certeine tale of ſuch Iles as lie about
 our Iland. I might alſo ſpeake of the Ile Mail Rony-
 ad, which lieth north weſt of Angleſei by ſire miles, but
 becauſe the true name hereof, as of manie rivers and
 ſtreames are to me vnknewen, I am the moze willing
 to paſſe them ouer in ſilence, leaſt I ſhould be noted to
 be farther corrupter of ſuch words as I haue no ſkill to
 deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude
 with the deſcription of the whole Iland, this I will ad-
 50 mozeouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are
 the beſt millicones of whete, red, blew, and greene grats,
 (eſpectallie in Tindaichin) ſo there is great gaines to
 be gotten by fiſhing round about this Ile, if the people
 there could vſe the trade: but they want both cunning
 and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for
 tempoꝛall regiments, it apperteineth to the countie of
 Cairnaruoſ, ſo in ſpirituall caſes it belongeth to the bi-
 ſhoppeſhipe of Bangor. This is ſhallowe to be noted of An-
 60 gleſei, that ſundrie earthen pots are often found there
 of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the
 mouthes downeward contrarie to the uſe of other na-
 tions, which turned the beins vppwards, whereof let this
 ſuffice.

Having thus deſcribed Angleſei, it reſteth to report
 furthermore, how that in our circuit about the ſame,
 we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth north-
 weſt thereof almoſt ouer againſt Burricke mouth, or the
 fall of the water, that paſſeth by Burricke. The Britons
 called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Ile of birds in
 old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid,
 that is the Ile of porpaffes. It hath to name likewiſe
 Yſterid, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the
 ſecond lieng by north eaſt, ouer againſt the Hilarie
 point

Holie head,
or Cair kybi.Enyllnach,
holie Ile.Ancient
Buriall.Adar.
Moil.
Rhomaid.
Yſterid.
Adros.

Iygod.

Seriall.
Prestholme

Credine.

Hilberie.

Eubonia.
Meuania.

point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Gise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall of Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, of the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne: (as I told you) of the same denomination. Prolomie nameth not this Island, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Alaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferior vnto Anglesei his mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Island vpon the coast of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the cause thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerslowne. It is partlie made an Island by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed south to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compasse: more a fardle soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh fuels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarties of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Welfchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, because they be so oft spoiled by pirates, although the lord of the same be verie wealthy, though the exchange made with them of his vitualls, for their wares, whereof they make good penitowes, as theues commonlie do of such prizes as they get by like elsheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Notwithstanding they are constrained to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, untill we came to the cape of Ile Bre, of Hilberie, and point of Wypale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the weather be not tedious. This Island at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betwene foure sadams deepe, as ship-boates haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the land. The Ile of it selfe is verie fardle a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious soles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and mainteined.

The next Island vpon the coast of England is Span, or Mona Caſaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Prolomie, Monaidia, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen do commonlie call Môn, as they do this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betwene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, lib. 2. cap. 75. It lieth also vnder 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minutes, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minutes, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnessels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Wlſſher in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads do lye so nere, that they do sceme in manner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Elicus, &c. call it Eubonia, and other following Oroſius, Meuania or Mauania, notwithstanding Beda and the Scottish histories, the Meuania are all those Isles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, lib. 1. dereg. lund beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Therefore it seemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not bene a little deceived. Iornandes lib. de Ge-

is speaketh of a second Meuania; Habet & aliam Meuania (saith he) necnon Orchadas. But which should be prima, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propercius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called Nebulosis, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Thibria where he was borne, lib. 4. eleg. De inbe rom. Wherefore there needeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of, Oroſius, lib. 1. cap. 2. that Scots dwelled sometime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Elicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. 1/2. bredth, and is in manner of like distance from Galles way in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Island also were some time 1400. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through joining houses to houses, and to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat up all, if prohibition be not made in time to withstand this mischeefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabitants want conie, and looke not how and where to bessewe themselves, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue bene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of enlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will do more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chace by Anlafus in his flight from the bloodie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was overcome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Island vnder their dominion, almost from their first arrivall in this Island, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbrians wan it from them, and united it to his kingdom. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwales wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwale inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recovered it from them, with all the rest of those Isles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorrenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwale. And sithens that time the Scottish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so united vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scrope the kinge of Chesterleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestors of the earles of Darbie, who haue bene commonlie said to be kings of Span, the discourse following shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Island, but in the end, when by a compromise the trial of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venomous boozes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he retained the Island. But howsoever this matter standeth, and whether ante such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed

Chronica
Tincomutli.

inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this in-
unction, that they which bought the same, should for a
great gale vnder manie, and for the lesse a fewer or
smaller number. The stature of the men and also ferti-
lity of this Iland are much commended, and for the
latter supposed verie nare to be equal with that of An-
glesei in all commodities.

There are also these toiwones therein, as they come
now to my remembrance, Ruthen, Dungleffe, Holme
toiwne, S. Brides, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich.
S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S.
Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu,
and Home. But of all these Ruthen with the castell is
the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common
want of wood, indued with sundrie pretie waters, as
first of all the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill
botoms, and branching out by south west of kirk S. An,
it seemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof,
from the residue of that Iland. From those hils also
(but of the south halfe) cometh the Holme and Hol-
mey, by a toiwne of the same name, in the verie mouth
whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also
the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the westside, and the
Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramefeihauen,
as I doe read in Chronicles.

There are moreover sundrie great hils therein, as
that whereupon S. Mathees standeth, in the north east
part of the Ile, a parcell whereof cometh flat south,
betwene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yelding
out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake
before. Beside these and well toward the south part of
the Ile, I find the Warehills, which are extended al-
most from the west coast ouertoward unto the Burne
streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsfeihauen,
by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by south west
Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort
there are diuers Ilets annexed to the same, as the Calfe
of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallye
S. Michels Ile in the gulf called Ranotis waie in the
east. Moreover the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding
huge, well walled, and their tailes of such greatnesse
as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in
maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store
of barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so
great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of
old ships, oyes, matts, peces of rotten timber as they
saie, and such putrified pitched stufte, as by wrecke hath
happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Whobeyt neither
the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can rea-
dilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the re-
ligious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere,
some haue bene troubled, for eating of them in times
prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

For my part, I haue bene verie desirous to under-
stand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacles, & que-
stioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red
also what fouer is written by forren authors touching
the generation of that foule, & sought out some places
where I haue bene assured to see great numbers of
them: but in vaine. Wherefore I bitterlie despaired to
obtaine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace
1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court
at Greenwich from London by bote, I saw sundrie
ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either
from Barbarie or the Canarie Isles (for I doe not
well remember now from which of these places) on
whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shels to hang
so thicke as could be one by another. Driuing nare
also, I took off ten or twelue of the greatest of them,
& afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proporti-
on of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all
the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, be-
cause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it)
and thereby hindered their perfection. Certainelie

the feathers of the talle hang out of the shell at least
two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme)
were garded with two shels or sheldes proportioned
like the selfe wings, and likewise the bestbone had his
couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogether
resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena doe giue
forth in their description of this foule: so that I am
now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that
is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some o-
ther sea-foule to be as yet vnknewen. For by the sea-
thers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be de-
nied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this
substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in
long voiajes, may come to some perfection. But now
it is time for me to returne againe into my former
purpose.

There hath sometime bene, and yet is a bishop of
this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodo-
rensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belong-
ed vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is
but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name
of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it
is supposed, the chiefe profit of his see (sauing that they
allow him a little somewhat for a squerish) notwithstanding
that they be his patrons, and haue his nomi-
nation vnto that living. The first bishop of this Ile
was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surna-
med Monachus Sauiensis, who by reason of his ex-
treame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Islanders,
had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into
exile. After him succeeded another monke in king Se-
phens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c.
other after other in succession, the see it selfe being now
also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iu-
ridiction. In tyme of Henrie the second, this Iland also
had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome
Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and ther-
in Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one
Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward
murdered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hof-
bach the sonne of Olmond Hacon, 1290. who being
slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of
Sodora, in such wise, that this had all the rest of the
Isles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but af-
ter the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after
whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne
to Olauus, who being entered in Spaie, and downe
vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald
reigned twentie and seven daies, and then was killed
the first of June, whereby Olauus alias Harald sonne
to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto
him succeeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and
last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Porwaies
were lords thereof. But being once come into the
hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made
lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer,
and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would
gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the
viceroies and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come
by their names nor successions, I successe to speake
any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof
this may suffice.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man,
with his commodities, we returned eastwards backe
againe vnto the point of Ramshed, where we found to
the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof
the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the
Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gesse, about
fue miles and more from the southeast into the north-
west, betwene which and the maine land lie two
little ones, whose names are Oldborrow and Fowlney.
The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate
south east of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse
therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra.

Fola.
Lida.

Raenglasse.

Iles in Scot
land.

Hemodes of
some called
Hemodes, see
Plinie, Meli,
Marianus,
Capella. Plu-
tarch. de defect.
arac.

Scarba.

Wyeast thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compasse, and yet of all these fir, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most fruitfull. From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Island of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likeli to be published. We noteth also two other Ilets, betwene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Islands that lie upon our shore in this part of my voyage.

Having so exactly as to me is possible, set downe the names and positions of such Iles, as are to be found upon the coast of the Quenes Shalesides dominions, now it resteth that we proceed orderlie with those that are sene to lie upon the coast of Scotland, that is to saie, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the German Seas, which I will perforce in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therein as I would. Some therefore doe comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, sauing that they are either occidentals, the west Iles, alias the Orkades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betwene Ireland and the Orkades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orkades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seven Hemodes; some of five Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authoritie. Whobest the late Scottish writers doe produce a summe of more than 300 of these Islands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwegians, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, fowles fowle, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie upon the coast thereof for herrings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentiful full of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good haue: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defense to such seafaring men as seeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bora, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good store of sport and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marned, an Island of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Glor, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyseraton. The Anon another Island lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ships, whereof it is called Anon, that is to saie, *Portusius*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great vse of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kynntar, the Cray, the Gegaw six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwise fruitful: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the sea betwene that and the Ile of deere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easilie nauigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Islands of no great fame,

which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyra-stell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarus, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupa, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luig, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therein. The Nagsey, Isdalf, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there great, lie hurtfull, and in colour not much unlike the lillie, sauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) V-derga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triaradi. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Cornies Ile alias Iole Ile, Abird Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Tred, Sheppey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Musadell, & Berner, sometime called the holie sanduarie, Vghe Ile, Molochafgyr, and Drinada, now ouergrown with bushes, elders, and bitterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore bene found therein. There is in like sort the Wije, the Ranse, and the Caruer.

In this tract also, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not bene least accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentiful of corne, cattell, deere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obtained, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yeldable of wood to fine and trie out the same. In this Island also there is a lake of sweet water called the Laie, and also a baie wherein are sundrie Islands; and therevnto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the souereigne of all the Iles sometime dwelled. Next vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultations there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did minister iustice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Islands. There is also the Stonecheape, an other Island so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreover the Colurne, Mulmor, Osiin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imerga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naofig, Rinard, Cane, Tharsher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Johns Ile, and Stackbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perillous sea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vlabraff, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Coluanfo.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in breadth, rough of soile, yet fruitfull enough: beside woods, deere, & good harbrough for ships, replenished with diuers and sundrie townes and castles.ouer against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great store of salmons, and other riuelllets now altogether vnfruitfull, beside two lakes, in each of which is an Island: and likewise in euerie of these Islands a castell. The sea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable bates wherein great plenty and verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the north west side Columbia, or the Ile of doues; on the southeast, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and corne. Moreover, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the rest, that it hath a pleasant spring, arising two miles in distance from the shore, wherein are certeine little eggs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and bright-
C. f. nelle,

nesse, and thereto full of sticke humour, which eggs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres conuerted into great shels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Jona.

Jona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little about two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitful of all such commodities, as that climat where in it standeth doth yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were sometimes also two monasteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, besides many chappels builded by the Scottis kings, and such princes as governed in the Isles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Isle of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Isles was still maintained and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Island the old burials appertaining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Isles; but thre above other are accompted the most notable, which haue little houses builded vpon them. That in the middelt hath a stone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum scotie*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, because foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Forwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all throught a fond suspicion conceined of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in pprocess of time, when Malcolme Canmore had erected his abbey at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Island there lie six other Isles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogether barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Isles vnto the abbey of saint Columbus, of which the Sea, albeit that it yelds competent pasturage for sheepe, yet is it more commodious, by such eggs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding do laie within the same. Then is there the Isle of Shyrewes or of women; as the more sober heads doe call it. Also Rodan, next vnto that, the Keruing. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Shula, whose bankes doe swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants doe liue and dwell in Shula. There is also the Corse or the Arle, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbey. Two miles from Arle is the Olue, an Island five miles in length, and sufficientlie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good haue for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Collane, an Island fruitful enough, and full of corne and trees. There is not far off also the Comater, Staka, the two Berneburges, and the Hossle Isle, in the old Brititish speech called Monad, that is to saie Hossle. The soile of it is verie blacke, because of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: wherevpon also no small plentie of moss is bred and ingendered. The people in like manner make their fire of the said earth, which is full so good as our English turffe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and thre in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafoole abundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good haue for great vessels to lie at safe guard in. Two miles from this also is the Gunt, and the Coll two miles also from the

The Isle of Shyrewes.

Hossle Isle.

Gunt. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie wooddie Island, the foure greene Isles, the two glasse or skie Islands, the Ardan, the Isle of wolves, & then the great Island which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixteen miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafooles laie great plentie of eggs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them listeth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland geese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Isle of hogges: and a little from that the hog Island, which is not altogether vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome breedeth there, and therevnto it is not without a conuenient haue. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Isles, but the later full of Soland geese. Likelike the Sobhaill, more apt to hunt in than met for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

After this we come to the Skie, the greatest Isle about all Scotland: for it is two and forty miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreover verie hillie, which hills are therevnto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small herds of mares, whereby they raise great advantage and commoditie. It hath five riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogether void of that prouision. It is inuironed also with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yeare. It hath also a noble pale of fresh water; five castles and sundrie towne; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwigen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certaine small Islands about this also, as Kausa a habitable soile for corne & grasse; Conie Island full of woods and conies; Paba a thauish Island, in whose woods theues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Isle, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Karfa, full of beached woods and flags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Kon, a woodie Isle and full of heath: yet hath it a good haue, which hath a little Island called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and there in lurke manie theues. There is not farre off from this Kon, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tulmen, Manfa, Bute the lesse, and Bute the more, and five other little trifling Isles, of whose names I haue no notice.

Skie.

After these we come vnto the Isle, a prettie fertile Island, to the Duc, to the Alkome, to the Linmill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarman, the Berner, the Hagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Wateras, which later hath a noble haue for great ships, besides sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Isles. After this we come to the Bar, an Island seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Island there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfected for med, which some do liken vnto cockles; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shellfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betwene the Barre and the Wisse lie also these

Bar.

these Ilands, Dylans, One, Hakerlet, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Yae, Yelsaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friskaie. The Cisse is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sundrie fresh waters, but one especiallie of thre miles in length: neuertheless, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of thre score foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leaue sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish byed therein almost like vnto a salmon, saying that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogether without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for thunes and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Hellscher, appertinent to the nuns of Jona: then haue we the Haster, verie plentifullie benefited by scales, which are there taken in time of the yere. Thre score miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all god science and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitful in all things, and bringeth forth shepe farre greater than are else where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth ouer his bailiffe into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a priest to saie masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of the yere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (because the voyage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried scales and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not above a mile euerie waie; and except thre mountaines that lie vpon one part of the thore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no part thereof.

Being past the Cisse, we came after to Warlaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Warner, Ensaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermozate, Scarfe, Crie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ile, Sein the more, Sein the lesse, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the seauen holie Ilands, which are desert and bred nothing but a kind of wild shepe, which are often hunted, but seldeome or neuer eaten. For in stead of flesh they haue nothing but fallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so vnusuaie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild shepe which will not be tamed; and because of the horrible grening thereof, is taken for the bastard tiger. Their haire is betwene the wolle of a shepe, and the haire of a goat, resembling both, shacked, and yet absolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be also the same beast which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the emperor; albeit that some take the same for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantise.

There is also not farre off the Caruell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Iellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Clirae, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is so called vpon soine probable coniecture) for manie little sculls and bones are daile there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie resembling the bodies of children; & not a nie of greater quantities, whereby their coniecture (in their opinton) is the more likelie to be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Dulmes, Miccoll, Haueraie, Car, Cra, Columbes Ile, Cor Ile, Jfurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whose east side is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a sight short in length, wherevnto meane ships do vse to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them, or the raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wycke. Also

we passed by the old castell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, eggcs, corne and pasture. There is also the Ile Cust or Cu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for thunes, as is also the Grinozt; likewise the parris Ile, which is verie full of sea foule and good pasture. The Asull, the two Herberts, to wit, the greater and the lesse; and the Iles of Hozles, and Hertalka: and these 8 lie ouer against the baie which is called the Lake

10 Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leng, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of thre score miles in length, and firtene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that doe possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie, and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Kofle, & called

20 Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Crwin, lake Unsalfago: but of towne, S. Clements, Stois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like sort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beside a monasterie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither wolfe, nor serpent scene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate one part from the other. Likewise there be plenty of flags, but farre

30 lesse in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland also is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with salmons. That part also called Lewis, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the sea coasts, and hath riuers no lesse plentifull for salmon than the other halfe. There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men doe raise great gaine and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of shepe, which they doe not there, but plucke cueris

40 yere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, through the corruption of such woods as in time past haue rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yere they conuert it into turke to burne, as neede shall serue; and in the yere after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with stauke of the sea, they sowe barleie in the selfe places where the turkes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherevnto they lue and feed.

Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, 50 that the berie tithe hath bene knowne, in some one yere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatnesse and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards deepe of water when the sea is gone, and not above foure when it is at the highest; ouer which great numbers doe sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherevnto they lue, and which maketh them also the more idle.

60 Being past this about firtie miles, we come vnto the Kona, or Kon, which some take for the last of the Hebrides, distant (as I said) about fortie miles from the Orkades, and one hundred and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungsbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile doth limit their number of households, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne prouision, they send the ouerplus parte vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe payments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, sowed vp in shepes skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dyed, that refresheth ouer and aboue, which they themselves doe spend. And if it happen

That

Baptisme
without
priests.

wild shepe.

Tigers.

Ile of Pig-
meies.

Lewis called
Thule by
Tacitus,
with no better
authoritie
than the In-
glese Hypota.

The
whales.

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords boke or rate doth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which means they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no viues from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done else-where than in their owne Iland. Anie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise rithed with scale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as loke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Shullcraie.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Shullcraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie clifles and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do breed and laie their eggs. Either in like sort manie doe saile from Letwilla, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight daies space, and then retorne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke soule, which is little lesse than a gosse; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir eggs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to shift for themselves, & then they get them alwaie together to the sea, and come no more untill that time of the yeare which next insueth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mosse soile: wherein it is wonderfull to see, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are seeme to couer their bodies as it were woll or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked.

Colke soule.

Dychades.

The Dychades (whose first inhabitants were the Scythians, which came from those Isles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language doe declare) lie partlie in the Germanie, and partlie in the Calidon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghilbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie three, as Orofius, but Plinie saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest thereof heretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Soluie streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Ilands retaine much of their old sparing diets, and therevnto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whittish colour, as men that feed most vpon fish; sith the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it seemeth that (in times past) some of these Ilands also haue bene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either tree or shrub, in stead whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yeld to bring forth trees & bushes. For what store of such hath bene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground doe yeld sufficient trial. Does they haue verie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, whereof they make a napie kind of drinke, and such indeed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouerthot himselfe. Whom best this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although they drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselves so vnnecesurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not easilie be sene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or

If he speake
all in truth.

mad man, dolt, or naturall foole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

This vnnecesurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoever anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof abundantlie. He addeth moreover, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may seeme to be reserved since the Lapithane banket; onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught, then they assure themselves of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheless this excelle is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugal; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Ilands lying so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they doe get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselves to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles doe yeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Ilands, that ignorance of excelle is vnto the most part of them in stead of physike, and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombrd withall.

In like sort they want venemous beasts, chesellie such as doe delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some doe vsuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gains. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and chesse: wherein, next vnto fish, the chesse part of their sustenance doth consist. There is also a bishop of the Dychades, who hath his see in Pomona the chesse of all the Ilands, wherein also are two strong castels, and such hath bene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finally, there is little vse of physike in these quarters, lesse store of eeles, and least of frogs. As for the hozles that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come nere, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Ilands are verie tempestuous, not onelie thorough strong winds, and the influences of the heauens and stars; but by the contrarie meetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the strets, that no vessel is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Ilands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarcelie sufficient to susteine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare thynge. Wherefore onelie thirtene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left vnto their shepe and cattell. Of all these Ilands also Pomona is the greatest, and therefore called the continent, which containeth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne, which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Tracouia: but now it hight Birka. Birka.

wa.

wa. There are also two prelie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautiful church, and much building betwene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two towines, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops towine. All the whole Island is full of cliftes and promontories, whereby no small number of baies and some hauens are produced.

There is also tin and lead to be found in sir of these Isles, so good and plentiful as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathness, being separated from the same by the Pictish sea: wherein also lie certeine Islands, as Stromma, foure miles from Cathness, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathness, is not reputed for anie of the Orkades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Orkades, called south Knauls, which is sixteen miles from Wungillshille, *alias* Dunachobie, & that in two houres space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is five miles long, and hath a faire port called saint Margarets hauci. Then passe we by two desert Isles, which lie towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, because they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the north side lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betwene the same Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie three Isles, Snu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Wall, which some account for two, and other but for one: because that in March and September, the flats that lie betwene them, do seme to ioine them together, after the tide is gone. This neuertheless is certeine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hills are to be sene that are in all the Orkades. And as they lie eight miles from Knauls, so are they two miles from Pomona, from saint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the north side of it lieth the Brainsle, in a narrow streit, as Buchanan doth remembre. And these are the Isles which lie betwene Pomona and Cathness. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Islands, or rocks, appearing nere unto it: but on the east side thereof Cobefadeth in maner ouershadow it. Siapiusa also an Ile of six miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracoula. Toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Koule, of six miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglisha, wherein (as they saie) their patrone S. Agnagus lieth interred. From hence southward lie the Vera Gerfa, and not far off the Ueffer (which is fourescore miles from Hethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as the Ueffer. In the middlest also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire etc: and within sight so well of Hethland, as the Orkades, by reason of three insuperable rocks which are apparant in the same: a verie poze Island, and yet pearelie robbed (of such commodities as it hath) by such Flemish and English fishermen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the prouision of their countries.

Next unto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Island called the Painie, firtie miles in length, and sixteen in breadth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are ankie inhabited, the innermost parts being left unto the fowles of the aire, because of the barrennesse and unfruitfulness of the soile: yet of late some haue endeouored to impeople it, but with no successe corresponding to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chiefe commodity and pearelie gaine by fish, as aforesetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in breadth, and so wild

that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwene this Island also and the Painie, are other smaller Islands to be found, as the Ling, Dyne, Big, and Sanferre. And from hence nine miles northward Uisa, twentie miles long, & fir in breadth, plaine, pleasant, but inuironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betwene this also and the Zeale, are the Uie, the Uie, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skenes, Chalserie, Pordwade, Bzale, and Spolse, on the west side lie the west Skenes, Kottia, Papa the lesse, Munned, Papa the more, Walla, Londza, Wurra, Haura the more, Haura the lesse, & in maner so manie holmes disperfed here and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call these the Sheiland, and some the Shotland Isles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuision Zelandise, and toward the end of his first booke saimeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as do the inhabitants of the Orkades: although not in so stull wise, nor in such large measure and abundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreover, that their apparrell is after the Germane cut, comelie, but not so chargeable and collicke, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beastes, as martens, sheepe, oxen, and goates skins, and thereof into a kind of cloth which they weaue, and sell to the merchants of Porwaite, together with their butter, fish, either salted or dried, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vncertaine shewes, which they fetch out of Porwaite.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with foren merchants do gather anie wealth, that they will verie often bestow vpon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germane maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that of late a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yeeres died of meere age, without anie other disease. Dronkennelle is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chere verie often. Neither do I read of anie great yle of flesh or foule there, although that some of their Islands haue plentie of each. For anie mention of corne growing in these parts, and therefore in stead of bread they drie a kind of fish, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, untill it be hard and drie. Their fuel also is of such bones as the fish yeeldeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they liue as themselves suppose in much felicitie, thinking it a great peece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like unto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there cometh a priefe unto them out of the Orkades (vnto which iurisdiction they do belong) who baptiseth all such children, as haue bene bozne among them, since he last arrived, and hauing afterward remained there for a two dates, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great scrupulositie in fish, for of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troublesome volage, except he watch his time. In these Isles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is produced by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elsewhere. This neuertheless is certeine, that these Islands, with the Orkades, were neuer perfectlie united to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betwene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Christierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Christierne at the birth of their sonne James (afterward

C. ii. king

king of Scotland and called James the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or should haue, vnto the afore said peres, as appereth by the charter.

From these Shetland Isles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Wiquhamnesse, I find no mentiⁿ of anie Isle situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to seach so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent bylmstone commeth, & thereto what stoze of Islands lie vnder the moze northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlye scene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discovered by anie, bicause of the great abundance of huge Islands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowledge doth not concerne our purpose, wherefore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scotch sea, wherein we passe by seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Paie, the second Baas, and Garwie the thirde, doe seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Isle, wherein I saw castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Island of the Scotch side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Islands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. So meruell therefore that I haue bene so oft on ground among them. But most iofull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my native citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where god interteinment is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our weatherbeaten carcases.

Lindessarne
or Holie Isle.

The first Island therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwicke, is that which was sometime called Lindessarne, but now Holie Island, and containeth eight miles; a place much honored among our monasticall writers, bicause diuerse monks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops see of Lindessarne for a long season, which after ward was translated to Chester in the street, & finally to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotch monke, who came hither out of the Isle called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & nearnesse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Isle with the see it selfe to such Scotch monks as they liked, bicause that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindessarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with salued timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer oter with lead.

Farne.

Pert vnto this is the Isle of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great stoze of eggs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a waeger on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Isles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great stoze

of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured feathers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is mozeouer another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Island; so called, bicause it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the thore at the low water; and in this Island dwelled one Henric sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Dorsethe I saw no more Islands.

Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therefore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Isle ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Clait, before we came at Waburne hope: the third also in Parmonth riuer ouer against Wadwell, a towne in low or litle England, whereof also I must needs saie somewhat, bicause it is in maner an Island, and as I gesse either hath bene or may be one: for the broadest place of the strit land that leadeth to the same, is litle aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Friskan, Burgh castell, Wlton, Flinton, Leiston, Gunton, Blundston, Copton, Lownd, Ashebie, Horton, Belton, Wadwell, and Coleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Estonneffe (almost an Island) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Dorset hauens, the Langerstone in Dorset mouth, & two paces or fllets at Cattwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Sperleie which is a pretie Island, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they invaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Sperleie, the other west Sperleie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulness is an Isle void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the thore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride therto if he be skilfull of the cause; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Tabor, bachelor of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of master John Walker docto; also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

Sperleie.

Foulness.

In Spaldon water are in like sort three Islands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Oithes, Dorsethe, and another (after a merth) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramscie Isle, or rather a Peninsula or Island, & likewise the Kete, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Isle and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulness, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other. I meane concerning the placing of Foulness. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Island of anie name, except you account Rochester hundzed for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, moze than of Crowland, Sperland, Elie,

Oithes.

Ramscie.

Kete.

Canwaie.

Olle, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze, Andredesele in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Auon (two noble rivers hereafter to be described) with I touch onelie those that are incircled with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Isles, which some call marthes onelie, and liken them to an ipo-cras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or withe skeue, because they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same do so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man do imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast upon them. Betwaine these, moreover and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me unknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole haven, which may easilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarce comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John A-nelle of Calis one of the best seamen that England ever byed for his skill in the narrow seas was wont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Islands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

The description of the Thames, and such rivers as fall into the same.

Cap. 11.

Having (as you haue seene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Islands, that are situate upon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to reexamine my purpose in this description also of our rivers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castles, mountaines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Isles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceived in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had already purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, breadth, depth of chanell (for burden) ches, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description under the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath bene largelie promised, & slacklie performed, and other sudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such obseruations as I haue either obtained by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is bitterlie cut off, and in stead of the same a mangled rehearfall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beseech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogether in vaine, with my errors maie proue a spurre vnto the better skilled, either to correct or enlarge where occasion serueth; or

at the leastwise to take in hand a more absolute peece of worke, as better direction shall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath achieved halfe his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, with *Facile est inuentis addere*; and to continue and finally, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platfome of anie noble peece of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of Islands, so will I now do the like with that of famous rivers; making mine entrie at the said river it selfe, of whose fountaine some men make as much adoe, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whose originall was neuer knowne, nor shall be: for whilst one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to such mens writings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous streame hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Tetburie, nere vnto the fosse (an high waie so called of old) where it was sometime named Ihs, or the Ouse, although diuerse do ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a folish custome than anie skill, because they either neglect or utterly are ignorant how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good rivers should) and meeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine *Corinium*) whereof *Cirencester* towne (by which it cometh) doth take the denomination.

From hence it passeth vnto Crickelade, alias Crickanford, Lechlade, Radcotebidge, Peckelbidge, and Couesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, beches, waters, and rundels: and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botleie and Hinksele, the other by Godstow, a villiage not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant meadowes, it passeth at length by Driford, of some supposed rather to be called Duseford of this river, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches do ioine end go together by Abbandune (alias Sentham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so nere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine streame, thorough the industrie of the monks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be seene) by the decate of Cair Dour now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the thoroughfare from Wales and the west countrie to London, which insued vpon this fact, is easie to be seene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where joining with a river of the same denomination, it loseth the name of Ihs or Ouse (whereof Duseleie at Driford is supposed) and from thenceforth is called Thamesis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Reading, which in time past, of the number of brydges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Rye, the Saron word for a water-course or river, which maie be seene in Quere, or Sutherie, for ouer the Rye, or south of the Rye, as to the skillfull doth readily appere; yet some hold (and not altogether against probability and likelihood) that the word Sutherie is so called of Sudryc, to wit, the south kingdome, *Sudryc*

Thamesis.

Corinium.

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine streame was brought thither which ranne before betwene Andredesele and Culenham.

Pontium.

Saint Marie ouer the Rye.

thereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Keding is so called of the Greke word (*κένω*) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cometh most nere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouerflowing was in time past called Khe, by such Sarons as inhabited in this Island: and euen to this daie in Essex I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue bene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said, All is on a Khe, as if they should haue said, All is now a river, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceived, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Khe, or Khe. But I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoever these matters be, and it hath passed by Keding, and there receiued the Kenet, which cometh from the hilles that lie west of Harleborough, & then the Chetis, commonlie called the Tide that cometh from Hythford: it lieth to Sudlington otherwise called Spaldenhead, and so to Wundichpore or Wundshor, Caton, and then to Chertseie, where Crkewald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I haue read.

From Chertseie it passeth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Slon, and Bientford or Bregentford, where it meeteth the Wane or the Wyne, another brooke descending from Edgworth, whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speech. Upon this also Sir John Chin had sometime a stables house, with a marvellous promise to inclose and retaine such fish as should come about the same. From Bientford it passeth by Portlach, Putneie, Foulham, Batterseie, Cheliseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lea with it by the waie vpon the coast of Essex, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth nere to Tarrige, and cometh by Shoreham, vnto Darentford, whereunto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Prebwaie a notable river (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and south-west part of Kent, and whose description is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Hauiug in this maner brieflie touched this noble river, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselves, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But per I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said river, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible; hereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least one hundred and eighty miles, if it be measured by the fournes of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous rivers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in abundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the rivers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse do) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swal-

loweth by ballards of the Celtish bond, or casteth by the right begotten that are dissolved in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian saileth of the Rhene, *Epistolarum lib. 8. ep. 6.* nor yeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit nere vnto hir banks are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweet salmon, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie after the time of the smelt be past, as no river in Europa is able to exceed it. But what store also of barbel, treuts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgeons, flounders, shrimps, &c. are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous river complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loseth at one time, the more it yeldeth at another. Enelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, fith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie land-floods, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which means it became some-what partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Sh that this river might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be undone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath bene choked of late with sands and shingles, through the peining and wexing of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or pate set vpon the ballaffe sometime traies given to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*iusque ad pontem*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an in the word *pont*: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnkilfull in the French toung, wherein that patent was granted.

Furthermore, the said river sloweth and filleth all his chanel twice in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the mone doth exactly touch the north-east and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one coming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe per the reuoluition and naturall course of the heauens do reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betwene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like sort we see by dailie trial, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse. For at the full and change of the mone we haue the greatest floods, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, untill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or north-east, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, because the tide which filleth the chanel, cometh from Scotland ward) that the Thames

Salmons.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

The least difference between one tide and another.

ouer.

Kenet.

Chetis.

Colz.

Wyne.

Darwent.
Craie.

The streame
is checked in
his entrance
into the land.

ouerfloweth his banks nere unto London: which hapneth especiallie in the fols and changes of Janu-
arie and februarye, wherein the lower grounds are
of custome somenest drowned. This order of flowing in
like sort is perpetuall, so that when the mone is vpon
the southwest and north of points, then is the water
by London at the highest: neither do the tides alter,
except some rough winds out of the west or south-
west do keepe backe and checke the streame in his
entrance, as the east and northeast do hasten the
comming in thereof, or else some other extraordina-
rie occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the nor-
therne seas, which fill the said river by their naturall
returne and flowing. And that both these do happen
est among, I refer me to such as haue not sildome
observed it, as also the sensible chopping in of three or
four tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnskillfull
do descant manie things.

But how so euer these small matters do fall
out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame
doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times
of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their
naturall course and limits of time exactlie. Polydore
saith, that this river is seldome increased or rather
neuer ouerfloweth his banks by landfloods: but he is
herein verie much deceived, as it shalbe more appa-
rantlie sene hereafter. For the more that this river
is put by of his right course, the more the water
must of necessitie swell with the white waters which
run downe from the land: because the passage can-
not be so swift and readie in the winding as in the
straight course. These landfloods also do greatlie
straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that af-
ter a great landflood, you shall take haddocks with
your hands beneath the bridge, as they fote aloft vpon
the water, whose eyes are so blinded with the
thicknesse of that element, that they cannot see where
to become, and make shift to saue themselves before
death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it
selfe is very clere, and in comparison next vnto that
of the sea, which is most subtle and pure of all other;
as that of great riuers is most excellent, in compa-
rison of smaller brookes: although Aristotle will
haue the salt water to be most grosse, because a ship
will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the
fresh water; and an eg sinke in this that swimmeth
on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the
quantitie of come and abundance of waters in the
sea; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine
such vessels as are committed to the same, and wher-
vnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing com-
parable. I would here make mention of sundrie
bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that
of London is most chieflie to be commended, for it
is in maner a continuall street, well replenished with
large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat
vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of ex-
cellent fire squared stone, euerie of them being three
score fot in heighth, and full twentie in distance one
from another, as I haue often viewed.

London
bridge.

2000 boates
vpon the
Thames and
3000 poore
maintained
by the same
whole gaires
come in most
plentifull in
the tearme
time.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit num-
ber of swans daile to be sene vpon this river; the
two thousand herries and small boats, wherby three
thousand poore watermen are maintained, though
the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or
repasse, from time to time vpon the same: beside
those huge tideboats, tiltboats, and barges, which e-
ther carrie passengers, or bring necessarie provision
from all quarters of Wiltshire, Berkehire, Buck-
inghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Middle-
sex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of Lon-
don. But for so much as these things are to be repea-
ted againe in the particular description of London,
annexed to his card; I surceasse at this time to

speake ante more of them here, as not lingering
but hastning to performe my promise made euen
now, not yet forgotten, and in performance where-
of I thinke it best to resume the description of this
noble river againe into my hands, and in adding
whatsoever is before omitted, to deliuer a full and
perfect demonstration of his course. Now and where
the said streame ariseth, is already with sufficien-
cie set downe, noting the place to be within a mile
of Terburie, whereof some do vtterlie mislike, be-
cause that till in summer mouths is off so drie, that
there is little or no water at all sene running about
ground in the same. For this cause therefore manie
affirme the verie head of this to come from the pole
about Hemble. Other confound it with the head of
the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that
riseth about Coberleie. For my part I follow Le-
land, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which
wrote the historie intituled Eulogium historiarum,
who searched the same of set purpose, and pronoun-
ced with Leland, although at this present that
course be verie small, and choked by (as I heare) with
grauell and sand. Proceeding therefore from the
head, it first of all receiveth the Hemble water called
the Coue, which riseth about Hemble towne, goeth
by Hemble it selfe vnto Wole and Somersed, and
then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Ash-
ton, Canes, and Holston, holding on in one chanell
vntill they meet with the Chirne, the next of all to be
described.

this

Coues.

The Chirne is a faire water arising out of the
ground about Coberleie, from whence it runneth
to Colcleie, Colcleieburne, Randome, and so into
the this on the left side about Crehelade. These three
waters being thus vnited and brought into one cha-
nell, within a little space of the head of this, it run-
neth on by Crehelade, beneath which towne it recei-
veth the Rhe, descending from Elcombe, Elcot,
Redburne, Wildhill, & at the fall into this, or not far
off ioineth with another that runneth west of Bur-
ton by Waden forest, &c. Part of all our this mee-
teth with the Anneie on the left hand, which com-
ming from about Holie rode Anneie, runneth by
Dolone Anneie, and finally into the this a little a-
bout Fleie. In like sort, I read of another that mee-
teth withall on the right hand about Fleie also, which
so far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from
about Drifield and falleth so into our this, that they
run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although
not so nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this
boilage, the maine streame doth crosse one water
that descendeth from Swiridon, and going also by
Stratton toward Seuingham, is it selfe increa-
sed with two rills by the wate, whereof one commeth
from Liddenton by Wambzeie, as I haue bene in-
formed.

Corinium.

Rhe.

Anneie.

The Colne is a faire river rising by north nere
to Wiltchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons,
Compton Abdale, Wiltenton, Parneworth, Colne
Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winton, Wiberie,
Colne Alens, Quenington, Faikford, and west of
Lachelade into the river this, which hereabout on
the southside also taketh in another, whereof I find
this remembrance. The this being once past Se-
uingham, crosseth a brooke from southest that moun-
teth about Ashbirie, and receiuing a rill from by
west (that commeth from Winton) beneath Shyne-
ham, it afterward so diuideth it selfe, that the armes
therof include Inglesham, and by reason that it fal-
leth into the this at two seuerall places, there is a
pleasant Island produced, whereof let this suffice.

Colneius, Co-
linus, or Co-
linus.

Being past Lachelade a mile, it runneth to saint
Johns bridge, & thereabout meeteth with the Leche
on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade ta-
keth

Leche of
Leche.

heth the name (a towne thereunto one peece of an old vniuersitie is ascribed, which it did neuer possesse, more than Crekelade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, fro whence it goeth to north Leth, Eften-ton, Aisleworth, east Leth, south Thorpe, Faren-don, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous wa-ter goeth by Benskot toward Radcote bidge (tak- ing in the rill that riseth in an odpeece of Barke- shire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said bidge (now notable through a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the e- state) it is not long yer it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another od parcell of the said countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Radcote bidge, whereof the one commeth from Shilton in Barke shire by Ares- cote, blacke Burton and Clarefield. The other also riseth in the same peece, and runneth by Byfenon; ton vnto Hampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that bryake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie Is- land. After these confluences, the maine course of the freame halseth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioyneth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth a- boue Shieburne in Gloucestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & coming by Barrington, Bur- ford, Withyke, Stonbecke castell, Witneie, Duc- kington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it go- eth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Ensham, betwene which and Cassinton, it receiueth (as Le- land calleth it) the Bymerne water.

It riseth about Limington, and going to Doxton in the Parth, and through a patch of Worcester shire vnto Cuenlode, betwene it and the foure shires- shores, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Hazwell, Dington, and so to Bloddent- on, about which towne it taketh in the Kolrich wa- ter that issueth at two heads, in the hills that lie by west of little Kolrich, and toine about Kenheham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Bymerne, Shipton vnderwood, Alcot, Shopt hamton, Chopleburie, Comeburie parke, Stonfield, Long- combe, and southeast of Woodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth about Enisone, and goeth to Ciddington, Clinton, Wotton (where it is increa- sed with a rill that runneth thither from streple Barton, by the Wechin tree) Woodstocke, Bladon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Cassinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Driford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonshire, where it riseth out of a little poole, by Charlton vil- lage, seuen miles about Banberie northeast, and there it issueth so fast at the verie surge, that it grow- eth into a pretie freame, in maner out of hand. Some after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Dmire side: but foras- much as it riseth by Wincesster, the whole course ther- of is not about foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Drifordshire, it recei- ueth the Culen, which falleth into the same, a little a- boue Edgcote, and so descending toward Warding- ton, it meeteth with another comming from by north west, betwene Wardington and Croypeadie. At Banberie also it meeteth with the Come (which fal- leth from fennie Conton by Farneboze, and after- wards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the discharge of diuerse rilllets, in one bot-

some before it come at Clifton. The said water ther- fore ingendred of so manie bryoklets, consisteth chieflye of two, whereof the most southerlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Doxton, by Wiltchington Ocus, or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by north west into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

That other (as I coniecture) is increased of thre waters, whereof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore hight Tado, which comming betwene Epwell and the Lea by Taddington, ioi- neth about Woughton with the second that runneth from Horneton, named Orus, as I gesse. The last Dynus, falleth into the Tado or Tadelake, beneath Wough- ton; and for that it riseth not far from Hotteswell in Warwicks shire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sothbroke. The next water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughon, and after this is the Solwar or Swere, that riseth north of Michaelle Tew, and run- neth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Keie *alias* Bure, whose head is not far about Wuresster, *alias* Wincesster, and Wurncesster; and from whence it goeth by Wuresster to Herton, Charleton, Fen- cote, Addington, Poke, Slip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betwene Wood and Water Eton, to Marlton, and the east bidge of Driford by Pa- dalene college, and so beneath the south bidge into our aforesaid Isis.

In describing this river, this one thing (right honozable) is come vnto my mind, touching the cen- ter and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Belledon parish, not far from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of thre notable riuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, do abundantlye serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, alreadye described. The second is the Aene that go- eth westward into the fourth Anon. And the third is the head of the Renc or fift Anon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they do coast the countrie, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our countrie.

But to go forward with my description of the Ouse, which being past Driford goeth to Aine, Ben- nington, Sanford, Kobleie, Felonham, and so to Ab- bington, sometime called Senthham, without increase, where it receiueth the Oke, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thi- ther of two bryoklets, as I take it, whereof one com- meth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horse, the other from Kings Let- combe, and Wantage in Barke shire, and in one cha- nell, entreteth into the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall south west of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the prebeminence of the whole denomination of this river, and is con- tented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters Thameis is produced, and that name continued even vnto the sea.

Thame riuier riseth in the easterlie parts of Chil- terne hills, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring west of the said parke, which is seauen miles from

Winrush.

Bymerne.

Comus.

Kolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

Bure.
Culen.

Come.

Sothbroke.
Sourus.

Sowar.

Bure.

Middest of
England
whereabouts.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame.

from the stone byrge, that is betwene Querendon and Ailburie (after the course of the water) as Le-land hath set downe. Running therefore by long Periton, and Buttenham, Bucket, and Bearton, it receiveth sone after a rill that commeth by Que-
 10 rendon from Hardwicke, and per long an other on the other side that riseth aboute Windouer in the Chilterne, and passing by Yelton, Welton, Turill, Broughton, and Ailburie, it falleth into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie doe faile me. From this confluence the Tame goeth by C-
 20 thorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherleie, Poleie abbete: and comming almost to Tame, it receiveth one water from southeast about the said towne, and another also from the same quarter be-
 30 neath the towne; so that Tame standeth environed upon three sides with three severall waters, as maie be easilie seene. The first of these commeth from the Chilterne east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingeie, Cowseie, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Gumer, Crowell, Sid-
 40 denham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they proceed together as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiseldon. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head com-
 50 meth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Orford to London. From whence it runneth to Welton (and meeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chal-
 60 graue, Stadham, and so into the Tame. From hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newen-
 70 ton, Dyaton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hatterh in like sort to Benfington, Crowmarsh, or Walling-
 80 ford, where it receiveth the Blaue, descending from Blaueburg, now Blotberie, as I learne.

Thus haue I brought the Thames unto Wal-
 90 lingford, situate in the vale of White horse that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newen-
 100 ham, noyth Stoke, south Stoke, Woxing, Basildon, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Porris, runneth by
 110 Fyzeleham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tid-
 120 marsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwene Hapleborham and Purleie, to Ca-
 130 uerham, and Cauerham manour, and a little be-
 140 neath receiveth the Benet that commeth therinto from Reading.

The Benet riseth aboute Querton; or 6 miles west of Hapleborow, or Harlingborow, as some call it; & then going by Fisseld, Clatfor, Paulon, & Bethpate, unto Hapleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Hamfrie, and north-west of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboute Alburne chafe west of Alburne towne. Thence it run-
 150 neth to little Cote, Charnhamstræt, & beneath Charn-
 160 hamstræt it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bed-
 170 wyne, & at Hungerford also two other in one botom somewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Avington, Binburie, Hamsted marshall, Cu-
 180 burne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Aberie, Egerston, the Sheffords, Westford, Worsford, Do-
 190 nington castill, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Hyattham, Wolhampton, Aldermaston, a
 200 little above which village it receiveth the Alburne, another brooke increased with sundrie rills: and thus going on to Wadworth, Wotton, and Michaele, it com-
 210 meth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it ioineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side re-

ceue the Loddon that commeth downe hyther from the south, as by his course appereth.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betwene west Shireburne and Wotton toward the south-west, after-
 220 ward directing his course toward the north-west, tho-
 230 rough the Aine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and
 240 thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swal-
 250 lowfield, Arberfield, Loddon byrge, leaving a patch
 260 of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I haue bene in-
 270 formed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne
 280 receiveth two waters in one bottome, whereof the
 290 westerie called Basing water, commeth from Ba-
 300 singstoke, and thorough a parke unto the aforesaid
 310 place.

The other descendeth of two heads from Haplebour well, and goeth by Shewes, Newenham, Kother-
 320 wic, and per it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Ba-
 330 sing water, from whence they go together to Tur-
 340 ges, where they meet with the Loddon (as I haue
 350 said already.) The next streame toward the south is
 360 called Ditford brooke. It riseth not farre from Up-
 370 ton, goeth by Cruell, and beneath Wharnborough
 380 castell receiveth the Ikell (comming from a parke of
 390 the same denomination) from whence they go to-
 400 gether by Haddinglie into Swallowfield, and so into
 410 the Loddon. In this voyage also the Loddon meeteth
 420 with the Elwe or Elueie that commeth from Alder-
 430 hare, not farre by west of Cuesleie: and about
 440 Cluelham likewise with another running from
 450 Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third
 460 not inferior to the rest comming from Crin, whose
 470 head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a
 480 limit, first betwene Surreie and Hamshire; then
 490 betwene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passing by
 500 Ash, Crinleie, Blache water, Perleie, and Fin-
 510 chamsted; it ioineth at last with the Ditford; before
 520 it come at Swallowfield. To conclude therefore with
 530 our Loddon, hauing receiued all these waters; and
 540 after the last confluence with them now being come
 550 to Loddon byrge, it passeth on by a part of Wilt-
 560 shire to Twisford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so
 570 into the Thames that now is maruellouslie increa-
 580 sed and growen unto triple greatnesse (so that it was
 590 at Orford.)

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue,
 600 it runneth by Hoxpendon, or Harding: then to
 610 Henleie upon Thames, where sometime a great rill
 620 voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Kemeham,
 630 Crenelam (going all this waie from Shiplake iust
 640 noyth, and now turning eastwards againe) by Spe-
 650 denham, Hurleie, Bisham, Parlow the greater,
 660 Parlow the lesse, it meeteth with a brooke sone after
 670 that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof
 680 the one called the Ase, riseth about west Wickham,
 690 out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from
 700 thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a pre-
 710 tie market towne. The other named Hygden, des-
 720 cendeth also from those mounteines but a mile be-
 730 neath west Wickham, and ioining both in one at the
 740 last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go
 750 together to Woburne, Hedsor, & so into the Thames.
 760 Some call it the Tide; and that word doe I vse in my
 770 former treatise: but to proceed. After this confluence
 780 our Thames goeth on by Cotwkhham, Copleie, Pat-
 790 denhead, alias Sudlington, Braie, Dozneie, Clure,
 800 new Windsor (taking in neuertheless, at Caton
 810 by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Pore, &
 820 commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wrai-
 830 borow, and a little by east thereof doth crosse the Cole,
 840 whereof I find this short description insuing.

The Cole riseth nere unto Flamsed, from
 850 whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons,
 860 Aldenham, Watford, and so by Pore to Richman,
 870 Wozth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of
 880 which

Wiltsh.

Cenethus.

Bedwin.
Chalkburne.

Lamburne.

Alburne.

Loddon.

Ditford vadium.

Ikell.

Elueie.

Dogman.
Crin.

Wilt.

Hygden.

Colus, alias
Mere and
Wetume.

Cabus.

which this Cole is the first. The second called Cabus riseth not farre from Alhridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Caddesdin, Hemsted, betwene Kings Langley, and Abbots Langley, then to Hunters, and Cheshelw brydges, and so to Richmansworth, receiving by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by north-west, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemsted ioining with the same. The last commeth in at north-west from about Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Palodlens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmansworth, and so going on all in one chanel under the name of Cole, it runneth to Urbridge, where it taketh in the Giffenden water, from north-west, which rising about Giffenden the greater goeth by Giffenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammerham) the Wack, Chalkhant Gyles, Chalkhant S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole about Urbridge (as I haue said.) Some after this our Cole doth part it selfe in to two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie meadows straight to Colebrook, the other unto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrook, in the waie to London, leauing an Island betwene them of no small size and quantitie.

Windleles.

Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windles, which riseth by north-west nere unto Waghnot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bilsleie, they run together toward Cherteseie, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the north-east side of Cherteseie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came unto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betwene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Wale. The Wale or the Wale rising by west, commeth from Alsted, & some after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulnere forest, and goeth by Hedleie and Frenham) falleth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Watberleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination.

Ueing.

Thuresbie.

From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shatford, but yer it come there, it croseth Crautie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Suller short of Kidgewye, goeth by Wache, rie parke, Knoll, Crautie, Bameleie, Monarsh, and so into the Wale. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shatford, and some after (meeting with the Abinger water that commeth by Shere, Albrie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeseord, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Petwarke parke side taketh in a brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one doth spring betwene two hills north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other about Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth unto Petwarke, and being there united, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Bissler, Walsied, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

Wotts.

From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Spoulseie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the north side, and east Spoulseie on the other, it taketh in the Poule water, which giueth name unto the two towne that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Wold forest, and going by Burfow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, containing a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forest asforesaid, the o-

ther runneth from Weshul wood, and comming by Kfeld, meeteth with the first aboue Horele, and so run on in one chanel, I saie, till they ioine with the Poule water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Poule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Hesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Deleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the north-west part. Finally, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Wesheworth, west Wesheworth, and ouer against the Swallow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cometh thither from Wotton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Wickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Spoulseie, and so into the Thames, which after this confluence goeth on to Kingston, and there also meeteth with another becke, rising at Cwell south of Pontuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Cwell by the old parke, then to Spauldon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Peterham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the north-west side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Haies, Harlington, Feltham, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Dion, nere unto new Baine, Bainford, so that it issueth into the Thames between them both. This water is called Bane, that is in the British tong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingesburie, Twiford, Vertuall, Hanwell, and Austerleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Bzentford, Hozlach, Chelwyg, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which towne it crossed a becke from Wandleworth, that riseth at Wodmans turne, and going by Calthalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Pittham, Parton abbeie, and Wandleworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next unto this is Pariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. James, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is forie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the whether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it meeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent side, west of Greene wich, whose head is Bzomis in Bzomleie parish, and going from thence to Lewtham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course south right unto the Thames.

The next water that it meeteth withall, is on Essex side, almost against Wollwich, and that is the Le Le. or Luie, whose head riseth short of Rempton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Wokehall parke (leauing Wollhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peradventure the Harrant) rising at north-west in Bode water hundred, from about Wollwin, north-east of Digeswell, and going to Hartingsfelde burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Weane (as I gesse) comming from Worwood by Benington, Afton, Walton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from about Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest com-

Baine.

Pariburne.

Bzomis.

Le.

Logus.

Harrant.

Weane.

Sturus.

meth from Barkewale in Edwinder hundred, the other Sinton in Odeley hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornmeade, they go together by Bulcher church, or Duckrich, Stonden, Thunderdige, Wadesmill, Bengho, and so into the Lee, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the same 1408, and so to Amwell, where on the north side it receiveth the water that cometh from little Hadham, through a peece of Singlethall parke, then by great Hadham, and so from Widdisd to the aforesaid towne. From hence also they go as one to old Stansted called Le Veil, branching in such wise per it come there, that it runneth through the towne in sundrie places. Thence it goeth south to Abbots Stansted, beneath which it meeteth with the Stoure, well (as I remember of Rodon. This Sture riseth at Wenden lodes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Panhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill coming from Ellingham, & Stansted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Bishops Stourford, Sabzichford, and beneath this towne crosseth with another from the east side of Ellingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Woodcocke, Shiring, Harlo, & so into the Stoure, and from thence they go together to Eastwic, Darnedon, and next into the Lee. These things being thus performed, the Lee runneth on beneath Woodedon, Worburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by west of the maine streame, a mile lower than Wormleie it selfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormleie locke.

It runneth also by Chesson nurrie, and out of this a little beneath the said house, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, because it diuideth Casser and Hartford shire in sunder, and in the length of one meadow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great floods, and meeteth againe with a succor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockesdich, halfe a mile from his first breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Parsh point ioineeth againe with the streame from whence it came before. Thence cometh the first arme to S. Paulie bridge (the first bridge westward upon that river) upon Waltham cause, & halfe a mile lower than Paulie bridge, at the corner of Ramme mead, it meeteth with the kings streame & principall course of Luy, or Lee, as it is commonlie called. The second arme breaketh out of the kings streame at Waltham halfe a mile lower than Chesson nurrie, and so to the fulling mill, and two bridges by west of the kings streame, wherinto it falleth about a fones cast lower at a place called Spalkins thelfe, except I was wrong informed. Chesson & Hartfordshire men doe saie, that the kings streame at Waltham doth part Hartfordshire and Essex, but the Essex men by force of charter doe plead their liberties to hold unto S. Paulies bridge. On the east side also of the kings streame breaketh out but one principall arme at Hailfield, three quarters of a mile above Waltham, & so goeth to the coyne mill in Waltham, and then to the B. streame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

Alfred.

From hence the Lee runneth on by south on Walthamstow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it selfe, and partlie by mans industrie for mills. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (sometimes king of England) was not of smallest force, who vnderstanding the Danes to be gotten by with their ships into the countrie, thereto kill and slay his subiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this river: he in the meane time before they could returne, did so mightilie weaken the maine channell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the same; that when they purposed to come backe, there was nothing so much water left as the ships did draw: wherefore being set on ground, they

were some fired, & the aduersaries overcome. By this policie also much meadow ground was wonne, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little enriched, as was also a part of Assyria by the like practise of Cyrus with the Ganges, at such time as he came against Babylon, which river before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was so offended, that one of his knights whom he loued deerie, was drowned and bozne a waie with the water in his passage ouer the same, that he swore a deepe oth per long to make it so shallow that it should not wet a woman to the knees. Which came to passe, for he caused all his armie to dig 46 new dyames fro the same, whereby the bow that he had made was at the full performed. Senec. de Tral. 3. But to conclude with the Lee that sometime ouerflowed all those meadowes, through which it passeth (as for a great waie not inferiour to the Thames) and I find that being past Westham, it is not long per it fall into that streame. One thing I read more of this river before the conquest, that is, how Edward the first, & sonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 911, builded Hartford towne: at which time also he had Wilttham a towne in Essex in hand, as his sister called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of some called Hertford or Herudford betwene these waters, that is, the Lee, the Benesfush, and Hemmarran, or rather Denmarran: but how these waters are distinguished in these daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is possible, that the Bene may be the same which cometh by Berington, and Bengho: which if it be so, then must the Hemmarran be the same that descendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time past right well be called Harranfield, for of like inuention of names I could shew manie examples.

Being past the Lee (whose channell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the same to the north side of London) we come vnto the Rodon, upon Essex side in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the most) from the fall of the Lee. This water riseth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Ethorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Dngar, and Cheping Dngar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariseth betwixt Patching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall coming from above Northwell at Cheping Dngar, they ioine (I saie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland conteatureth that the streame is called Quell: for my part, I wot not what to say of it. But herof I am sure, that the whole course being past Dngar, it goeth to Stansted riuers, Thelton mount, Hethbridge, Chigwell, Widdford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & so into the Thames.

The Darwent meeteth with our said Thames upon Kents side, two miles and more beneath Crith. It riseth at Tanridge, or thereabouts, as I haue bene informed by Christopher Saxtons card late made of the same, and the like (I hope) he will doe in all the severall shires of England at the infinit charges of sir Thomas Sackford knight, & maister of the request, whose zeale vnto his countrie herin I cannot but remember, & so much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & somewhat beside this hath holperne in the names of the tostones, by which these riuers for the Kentish part do run. Would to God his plat were once finished for the rest! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, rising at Tanridge, goeth on by Little toward Basted, and receiuing on each side of that towne (& severall bankes) a river or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Hinkford, Hoxton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Traic on the left hand that comes from Wypington by

Rodon or Rodunus.

Lauer.

Quell.

Darwent.

Crith.

F. J. Partie

Marie Crate, Paules Crate, North Crate, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the brooke, it is a world to see what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fauchus hath not a little halted; whilst he giueth forth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betwene which there is no manner of likelhood. This neuertheless is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiue another forme cleane different from the first, which it yelded when it grew vpon the shore, and thereunto appeareth of more fat & foggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of woyme-wood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Wantie Isles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for rising about Cotingham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yer it fall into the mouth of this river, which I do now describe.

I would haue spoken of one crake that cometh in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Hailsto by S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backwaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skillfull of their courses. And thus much of the rivers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distinction which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

*Et sic non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit utrinque.*

Spidwaite.

Next vnto the Thames we haue the Spidwaite water, whereof I find two descriptions: the first being thus. The Spidwaite water is called in Latine Medeuia (as some write) because the course thereof is midwaite in a manner betwene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In Britith it is hight Dourhæ: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobrenum. But in an old charter which I haue seene (containing a donation sometime made to the monasterie of Saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Sarons called this river Medzing; and also a towne standing betwene Walling and east Farlegh, Medzington; and finally, a forrest also of the same denomination, Medzington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Medzing, and ioineeth with another brooke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Sussex: and after this confluence they go on together, as one by Ashurst, where hauing receiued also the second brooke, it halteth to Penherst, and there carrieth withall the Caden, that cometh from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Fifth, on the north-west side, and an other little streame that cometh from the hilles, betwene Peuenburie and Hoxsemon on the south-east. From thence also, and not farre from Walling it receiueeth the Thesse (a pretie streame that ariseth about Thesse Wist) afterward the Crane or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and meeting with sundrie other riuulets by the waie, whereof one branch of Thesse is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a pretie Island, doth ioine with the said Spidwaite, a little about Palding, and then with the Lofe. Finally at Spaldstone it meeteth with another brooke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Walling, Cuckeslane, Rochester, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betwene Sheppee and the

Frithus.

Thesse.
Crane alia
Crannus.

Crane.

And thus much out of the first authour, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yeld such plentie of surgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the thimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse esteemed of in their kind, than the westerne smelts or slounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second authour describeth it after this manner, and moze copiously than the other.

The chiefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a pretie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it meeteth with a brooke, whose head is in Ward forrest, south-west of Cranesfield, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineeth with the Spidwaite. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-west from Coloden ward, and the third above Penherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Cranesherst; and ioining above Odinbridge, it doth fall in to the midwaite beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingfold. From Penherst our maine streame passeth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twibleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Pote, another at Wrotham, the third at west Beckham, & likewise another from south-east, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiueeth the Thele, whose forked head is at Thesse Wist, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a brooke out of the north-side of Waterdon forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our river goeth to Goldhurst, and coming to the Twist, it lianeth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Spidwaite, another into the Saran, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Saran (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I do take it) riseth nere to Cranebrooke, and going by Sillinghurst, it receiueeth yer long one water that cometh by Frettingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Simerdon, and Hedcombe, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcombe it selfe standing betwene them both. Finally, the Saran or Crane meeting with Spidwaite south of Walling, they on the one side, and the Thesse on the other, leaue a pretie Island in the middest, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember.

Sarunas,
Crannus.

From Walling forward, the Spidwaite goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Spaldstone, it intertaineeth a rill that riseth short of Jenham, and goeth by Ledes and Otterington, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in dye peres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Spaldstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Walling, Cuckeslane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the ladie Margarete his wife, and the ballant Sir Robert Kinolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that peece of worke, and thereunto builded a chappell of the Trinitie at the end thereof, in testimonie of his pietie. In proceesse of time also one John Warner of Rochester made the netw coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that sex were not slacke in their beneuolence and furtherances toward

that

that worke, especiallie Walter Herton founder of Herton college in Oxford, who by misfortune perished by falling from the same, as he rode to surueie the workemen. Being past Rochester, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, and some after branching, it embraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads do Alhdon forrest, that lieth betwene them both.

Of such streames as fall into the sea, betwene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.



Stoure.

Naillburne water also (as I heare) nere to Cantuarburie, but I wrote not whereabout; see Marianus Scotus.

Wantfome.

After the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riseth at Kingeswood, which is fourtene or fifteene miles from Canturburie. This riuer passeth by Ashford, Mole, Pockington, Canturburie, Forvith, Stambish, and Sturemouth, where it receiuet another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it self in twaine, & in such wise, that one arme thereof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth southeastward by to Richborow, and so to Sandwich, from whence it goeth north-east againe and falleth into the sea. The issue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peradventure the streame that cometh downe thither, after the diuision of the Stoure, maie be the same which Beda calleth Wantfome; but as I cannot vnderstand this knot at will, so this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peradventure, the Wantfome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tene from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Island.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland speaketh, as Fithpole becke that ariseth in Stonehirst wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chislet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which sometime inclosed Thanet, as Leland saith: the third issueth out of the ground at Foxthburne (where Cadbert of Kent sometime past held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the said authour reporteth: and the fourth called Widgewater that riseth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Bishopps Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: also Wigham that riseth about Wigham thort of Adlam, and falleth into Widgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third namelesse, which riseth thort of Wodensburgh (a towne wherein Hengist & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Wodine) and goeth by Staple to Wingham: but sith they are obscure I will not touch them here. From hence passing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous for sea-faring men (sometime firme land, that is, untill the tenth of the conquestours sonne, whose name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time past was knowne to lie) but escaping it with ease, we came at length to Dover. In all which voyage we found no streame, by reason of the cliffes that inuiron the said coast. Wherewith vpon the south side of Dover, there is a pretie fresh riuer, whose head ariseth at Crwell, not passing foure miles from the sea, and of some is called Dour, which in the British tongue is a common name for waters, as is also the old British word Auon for the greatest riuers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe entrance; and therefore such are in my time called hauiens, a new word growen by an aspiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this else-where, sith I am now onlie to speake of Dour, whereof it is likelie that the towne & castell of Dover

Dour.

did sometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peradventure here and there sundrie small creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the sea. This Rother separateth Suffolke Rother from Kent, and hath his head in Suffolke, not farre from Argas hill nere to Waterden forrest, and from thence directeth his course vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethingham or Hitchingham, and so forth by Newenden vnto Hattham ferrie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a castell sometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Hiddleton, and the third at Beamsflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Wilie that riseth about Billington, the other by J. Wilie. den, so that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time past was reputed as a parcell of Suffolke; but now vpon some occasion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence also growing into some greatnesse, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finally with the Becke, which cometh from Beckleie: so that the plot wherein Rie standeth, is in manner a by-land or peninsula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and most men are of the likeliest opinion, that this riuer should be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhill saith) doth issue out of Andredeswald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, because the Danes are noted to enter into these parts by the Limen; and sailing on the same to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted already. Wherewith, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this suffice.

Being thus crossed ouer to the west side of Rie hauen, & in betwix the issues that fall into the same, I met first of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the east side of the mouth of the said port. The first thereof that falleth into it descendeth from Beckleie or whereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Desemarch, & some after joining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the same at the west side of Rie: the third streame cometh from the north, and as it mounteth by not farre from Purfield, so it runneth betwene Descambe and Blackinton nere vnto Bead, taking another rill with all that riseth (as I heare) not verie far from Westfield. There is likewise a fourth that groweth of two heads betwene Fellingham and Det, and going by Winchelseie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, so that Winchelseie standeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the streames of these two that I haue last rehearsed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by south-west of Hastings, or therabouts, is called Aethus Aethus; or Aethen: perhaps of Hassen or Hasting the Dane, (who in time past was a plague to France and Eng-land) & rising not far from Denhirst, it meeteth with the sea (as I heare) by east of Hollington. Bulner- hith is but a creeke (as I remember) serued with no backwater; and so I heare of Coddington or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Into Deuonshire hauen diuerse waters do resort, and of these, that which entereth into the same on the east side riseth out from two heads, whereof the most easterlie is called Ash, the next vnto the Burne, and uniting themselves not farre from Ashburne, they continue their course vnder the name and title of Ashburne water, as I read. The second that cometh thereinto issueth also of two heads, whereof the one is so manie miles from Boreham, the other not

Limennus.

Bulnerhith.

Deuonshire.

Ash Burne.

J. G. far

Cucomarus.

far from the Marke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring south-west of Hirkmowlen, they direct their course toward Deuenseie (beneath which they meet with another rising at Fointon) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall together into Deuenseie haue. The Cuckmer issueth out at severall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and meeting beneath Halling, they run in one bottome by Wicham, Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea.

His, ni fallor.

Unto the water that commeth out at Pelwhan, sundrie brookes and riverets doe resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betwene Echinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Bertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Kipe, on the west side, it falleth into the aforesaid river beneath Forle and Clime, or thre miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The next hereunto hath his head in Argas hill, the third descendeth from Alhedon forest, and joining with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine river a little beneath Jlesfeld. The fourth water commeth from Alhedon forest by Hordsted Caines (or Dalesgate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceived if this river be not called His, after it is past Jlesfeld. The fifth riseth about Stornelgate, and meeteth also with the maine streame above Linfield, and these are knownen to lie upon the right hand as we rowed up the river. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall nere unto Wenefield, and holding on his course toward the east, it meeteth with his master betwene Pelwicke and Jlesfeld (or Jfield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Hilmordine or Blumpton, and hauing met in like sort with the maine river about Barcham, it runneth south with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamseie, Halling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so south into the maine.

Sturewell.

Plinus.

Sozo.

The next river that we came vnto west of Wight-hemston is the Soze, which notwithstanding I find to be called Wember water, in the ancient map of Parton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure streame, because of the said towne that standeth thereupon. But to proceed, it is a pleasant water, & therefore if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this river is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Soza from the rising, in good sooth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten miles thereon up into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stopped vs, so that we were enforced to turne either east or west, for directlie south-right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certeine space toward the north-west, it turneth southward betwene Shermonburie and Alwinham, and sone after meeteth with the Bimar, not much south from Shermonburie, whence they run together almost two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the west side descendeth from about Wilingesthirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with the fourth (which riseth a little by west of Thacam) east from Pulborough, and so they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Wember, Burleis, the Combes, and per long into the Ocean.

Bimarus.

Arurus.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the ca-

stell and the ballie wherein it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth up of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gresham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the next streame (as I gesse) about Doursford house. The second riseth by west from the hills that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Werton ward, and joineth with the second betwene Peterfield and Doursford, after which confluence they go together in one chanell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that commeth betwene Ferenhirst and S. Lukes chappell, south-west of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Lodesworth (as I doe read, and likewise sundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Altham, Burle, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Coxington ford, Climping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs doe the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first river that we come vnto therfore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forest, & joining a little above Hosham, they meet with the third, which commeth from Jfield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the other by west, nere unto Heselmeare chappell, and meeting by west of Doursfeld, they vnite themselves with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I spake of beneath Slinfeld, a little above Wilingthirst. The last water commeth from the hills above Linchmere, and runneth west and south, and passing betwene Wilingthirst and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without any further increase, at the least that I doe heare of.

Burne hath his issue in a parke nere Aldingburrie (or rather a little above the same toward the north, as I haue since bene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betwene north Berleste and Jlesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Crinleie, and directing his course toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Selesie towne on the south-west and Bagham at north-west. Deel springeth about Wenderton, and thence running betwene middle Auant and east Auant, it goeth by west of West Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Kumbalbedowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill coming north-west from Juntingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one streame toward the sea, it meeteth with another rillet coming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulf by east of Thorneie Island.

Burne.

Erin.

Deles.

Racurus.

The Racon riseth by east of Racon or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and coming by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emill commeth first betwene Racon and Standes, then downe to Emillsworth or Emnesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Sulser from Hampshire almost from the very head. Hauing in this manner passed along the coasts of Sulser, the next water that I remember, riseth by east of the forest of Ebbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Wurbunt, Farham, and so into the gulf almost full south. Then come we to Wedenham crake (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Portchester castell, which is situate about thre miles by water from Portsmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Foxten crake, which either giueth or taketh name of

Badurus forte.

Foxten or Foxdon.

Wierpoule.

a village hard by. After this we come to Wierpoule lake, a great creeke, that goeth by by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be seene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, wherby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restrained.

Tichfeld.

From hence we go further to Tichfeld water, that riseth about Castmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by north-east or thereabouts from Tichfeld. From Castmaine it goeth (parting the Forrests of Waltham, and Castberie by the way) to Wicham or Wilcombe, a pretie market towne & large thoroughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood cometh ver long againe vnto one channell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Writthofeleies house (leaving Tichfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as hir naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, wherunto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

Hamelrish.

After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish creeke, whose fall is betwene saint Andreyes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham Forrest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it meeteth with another brooke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waite on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then joining with the Hamble, they run together by Howlingworth, Upton, Busk, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Southampton.

Now come we to the hauen of Southampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefely describe so nere as I can possiblie. The breadth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point thereof also is a strong castell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldishe, but now Calishot, I wrote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen shpeth by on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Whence it goeth by further about three miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memory doth serue me. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some doe call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alresford.

The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and some after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow channell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leaving the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Wichingstocke three miles off, but per it cometh there, it receiveth two rills in one bottome, whereof one cometh from the Forrest in manner at hand, and by north-west of old Alresford, the other frō Bolwne Candiuier, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone, &c. vntill we meet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Wichingstocke, it cometh by Annington to Elton village, and to Wozthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe in

to other that resort to Hode and the lower soles by east of Winchester, there seruing the streets, the close of S. Maries, Woluelseie, and the new college verie plentifully with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame cometh from Wozthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it doth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable manner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leaving it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twisford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the east side, and so into the salt creeke that leadeeth downe to the hauen.

Otter.

On the other side of Southampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stocke bridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description ensuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basingstoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betwene Duerton and Steuenton, it cometh at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and some after receiuing a brooke by north-west, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, south-east from Hozleburne) it proceedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a pretie riuulet rising about Michelneie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cranburne) thence to Hozwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased per it come there by an other brooke, whose name I doe not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire Forrest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, per it toucheth there it receiveth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also neer vnto Anport, goeth to Spokenston, to Abbatsham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Hozwell, whereof I spake euen now.

Stoke.

Bourne.

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stocke bridge, and some after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that cometh from by west of S. Ans hill, and goeth by east of vpper Wallow, west of nether Wallow, by Burcholt Forrest, Broughton, and called (as I haue bene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallow. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of Kings Somburne, and uniting themselves againe, they go forth by Pottelhunt, and then receiue the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by Inest Deane, and east Deane, so to Pottelhunt, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thence forth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Kumble, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiveth a concourse of two rilles whereof the one cometh from Sherefield, the other from the new Forrest, and joining in Madeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Purfelung. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long per it fall into the hauen.

Walogus.

Test.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and cometh thereinto about Cling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leaving Calde Hoke castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the south-west, vnto Beaulieu hauen, wherinto the Pineie descendeth. The Pineie riseth not far from Pineiested, a village in the north part of the new Forrest, and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea south-

Cling.

Pineie.

F. iv. west,

Limen.

well (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing upon the shore.

Being past the Minie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime converted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, but eng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towne and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or enlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running south west of Lindbirk & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenbirk, west of Bulder, & finally into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the haven, for Limen in Greeke is an haven: so that Limenbune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lying on the haven: neuertheless, this denomination of the riuer hath now hit the passage, I think it not convenient to seke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is namelesse, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it bight Myle, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the south west part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or strait leading from the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Island, ready to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beaating of the waues.

Bure.

Myle.

Auon.

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by north east, and not far from Wolschall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Valenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Uppahen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambesburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Woodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogether, because it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisbury, new Salisbury, and finally to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Island, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & some after it reunith it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harnham bridge it goeth to Downton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Forthingbridge, to Kingwood bridge five miles, to Chilles church & Winham five miles, and straight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before nere) vnto Wolschall; although he that will seke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the Forrest of Sauername (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were embraced betwene the first armes thereof, as I haue bene informed. These heads also doe make a confluence by east of Martinhall hill, and west of Wotton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powtice, Spanningfield abbey, Spanningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Raddobow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcaningues, and runneth into the same by

Patnet, Warden, Wilford, Charlton, and Wiltfall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Uppahen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chelburie, Compton, Abington, little Almsburie, Darnford, Woodford, old Salisbury, and so to new Salisbury, where it receiue one notable riuer from by north west, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leaving the Auon at Salisbury for a while.

The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantastical heads doe imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Upton by Wermminster at north west. From Bishops straw it goeth to Porton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Waddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hatheth to Wilthford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither cometh a water vnto it from south west, which riseth of two heads aboue Overdonet. After this it goeth by Wodecastell, to Ulsburie, and there receiue a water on each side, whereof one cometh from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Aulie, the other at Swalobise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstoke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Mader water) Westbarnam, Salisbury, and Gasharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Colterton, Newton, Temeie, Jomerston, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstoke, and so into Auon east of Salisbury. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes brooke) a mile beneath Harnham bridge, whose head is five miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember. Who noteth the Chalkburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a pretie brooke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisbury in a bottome on the right hand, whence it cometh by Iknighton and Fennistraford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odsfcke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the creation of new Salisbury, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stead of this church, there is onlie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the north side of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obtained of the king and Richard bishop of Salisbury, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisbury in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harnham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisbury fell into utter decay, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the

wilugh,

Mader becke.

Becquithes brooke.

Chalkburne.

These towne decayed by changing our waie.

the ruine of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salve vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townemen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifully serued with springs and wells of verie sweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the fouldiors of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, in so much that after often battles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in solemn procession, a controuersie fell betwene them about certaine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on eche part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their time, gate betwene the cleargie and the towne, and so colled them as they returned homeward, that they feared arie more to gart about their bounds for the yeare. Herevpon the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie station, a thing comunonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom arie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, as Latimer said, with bese, bread and beere) they conceived forthwith a deadie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Poze their bishop, and he with them so effectualie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Spirifield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could doe before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentieth of Aprill, and finished with the expences of 42000 markes, in the yeare 1260, and sine 2 twentieth of March, where by it appeareth that it was aboute fortie yeeres in hand, although the clearkes were translated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the fraie. The people also seeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be nere vnto these prelates, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vterlie desolate, and new Salisburie raised vp in stead thereof, to the great decate also of Barmham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuertheless it should seme to me that this new citie is not altogether bold of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edward the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pause where he sate, whereby he became welshod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his masse, least they should all haue bene drowned: and this rage indured there for the space of two daies, wherevpon no seruice could be said in the said minster.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisburie, goeth by Burford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Craisford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Kingwood, Anon, Chriffes church; and finally into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Chriffes church, it crosseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be less vntouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this riuer

the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do to much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these branches are conioined in one bottom, it goeth to long Laine mill, Stilton, Hiltan, and beneath Cillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Spere. Hence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer byrge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Den that cometh downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, seven miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said boiage, by Wine Cauntan, and the five byrdes. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, and some after crosseth the Lidden and Deulis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackmore vale, and goeth to the bishops Caundell: the second in the hills south of Bulham, and so runneth to Liddin; the third water issueth nere Ibberton, and going by ffished to Liddington, and there meeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater about Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stourefon minster, Fittleford, Hammond, and some after taking in one water that cometh from Hargraue by West Orchard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Darweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrant, and goeth to Launston, Dunketon, Cauntan, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwic, and by and by receiuing another brooke on the right hand, that riseth about Strickland, and goeth by Quarleston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stourefon minster, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, alias Twinburne minster, whither cometh a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wickhampton, Crambyrge, Hinton, Barnleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth thort of Woodcotes, and east of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Dunketon about S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Aisleie, it taketh in the Hoxton becke, as the Hoxton doth the Cranburne. Finally, meeting with the Terig about Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preston, Kingston, Berleie, and Polnell: but yer it come at Polnell it taketh in two brookes in one bottom, whereof one cometh from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboute Upper Winburne, by Camondelham, Tertwood, and Pannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebyrge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Juor bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Chriffes church about the meeting of the said waters (as I haue said before).

Having in this maner passed Chriffes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little brooke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Pole, from whose mouth vpon the thore, by south west in a baie of three miles off, is a poze fischer towne called Sandwich, where we saw a pere and a litle fresh brooke. The verie vtter part of saint Adelmes point, is five miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lilleworth, where (as I heare) is some profitabie harborough for ships. The towne of Pole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the haven. The haven it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth litle of twentie miles, as I digesse by the view.

Going therefore into the same, betwene the north

In holie conflict.

New Salisburie begun.

Sturton.

Cale.

Lidden. Deulis.

Ibberton. Blackewater.

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eels.

Burne.

Pole.

and the south points, to see what waters were there, we left Wunkelcote Island, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pole, and leaving that crêke, because it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Bezworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight

Piddle. Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walter flow, and per it come at Wirsam, receiue

Deuils. Deuils broke that cometh thither from Wingham and Melcombe by Deuils town. Hence it goeth to Eto piddle, A the piddle, Turners piddle (taking in per it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Piddleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hyde, and so into Pole haven, and of this water Marianns Scotus speaketh, except I be deceived. The south water is properly called Frome for frame. It riseth nere unto Cuerhot, and going downe by Frome, quitaine, Chelmington, and Catstoke, it receiue

Frome. there a rill from beside Kotham, and Wrearehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Paden Newton, where it meeteth with the Duke, that riseth either two miles about Hoke parke at Kenford, or in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Paden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromebanchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Spuchilford, and receiue nere unto the same a rill from about Upfolding by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Crimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Deuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie *alias* Pinterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanel: whereof the first riseth in Wyer Cherne parish, the other at Pinterne, and meeting about middle Cherne, they go by necher Cherne, Foxson, Godmanson, and about Charneminster into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Island about Charneminster, and joining againe nere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthington; but per it come at Beckington, it meeteth with another Becke that runneth thence into from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinslow, Heringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Porton, Woll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiue

Luckford. the issue of the Luckford lake, from whence also it passeth by Castholme, Watham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a little crêke, then by Wyre, where we beheld another, & then coming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found our selues at libertie.

When we were past Pole hauein, we left the Handfast point, the Deuerell point, S. Adelmcs chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauein, whereby and also the Luckford lake, all this portion of ground last remembered, is left in manner of a byland or peninsule, and called the Ile of Wurbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westward, we came to Sutton points, where is a crêke. Then unto Maie or Milemouth, by kings Melcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles about the hauein by north-west at Uphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest cometh from Upweic by Bradweic, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and likewise the third that maketh the ground betwene Melmouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Island. There is a little barre of sand at the hauein

Some more for willie broke that goeth by west burie to Pole hauein.

mouth, and a great arme of the sea runneth by the right hand, and scant a mile about the hauein mouth on the shore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbacane. This arme runneth by also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth by also from the said passage into Abbatburie about seauen miles off, where a little fresh ronnele reflozeth to the sea. And somewhat about this is the head or point of the Cher, fill lieng north-west, which stretcheth by from thence about seauen miles; as a maine narrow bayke, by a right line unto the south-east, and there abutteth by on Portland scant a quarter of a mile about the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at south-east, so often the sea beateth in, and losing the banke loketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time together, Portland should be left an Island as it hath bene before. But as the south-west wind doth appaire this banke, so a north-west doth barre it by againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Wainmouth, which lieth streight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauein is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men doe guide their botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to proceed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this river do ships often come for succour.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Kase, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdene Beacontward, by Portham and Abbatburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, nere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then unto the Wyde or Wyte port, a pretie hauein, and the river it selfe serued with sundrie waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more about Wemister, and so goeth from Wemister to Petherburie by Parneham, then to Welplath, and so to Witeport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanel, of which one riseth east of Petticourt, and goeth by Dorsetoke and Milton, the other at Alkerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence also our Wyde going toward the sea, taketh the Simen or the whole that cometh by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame some after falling into the sea, and leauing a pretie haueinet.

The next port is the Chare, serued with two rills in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The chiefe head of this river is (as Leland saith) in Sparthwood parke, and cometh downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wotton, and meeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) both fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which cometh about three miles by north of Lime, from the hills, fletting by on Rockie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauein here that I could see, but a quarter of a mile by west south-west of the towne, is a great and costlie luttie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Coliton, about five miles. And here we ended our voiage from the Auon, which containeth the whole coast of Dorchester, or Dorsetshire, so that next we must enter into Summer set countie, and see what waters are there.

The first water that we met withall in Summer setshire is the Are, which riseth in a place called Are knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaie, nere unto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Gosperne, Febozow, Clarton, Welford byldge,

Cher.

Wyde. Nature hath set the mouth of this river in manner betwixt two hills, so that a little cove would make an haue there.

Simen.

Chare.

Buddle.

Are.

Yare alids
Arie.

bridge, Waintham ford, and receiuing one rill from the east by Watkechurch, and sone after another comming from north west by Churchstoke, from Wainboke, it goeth to Areminster, beneath which it crosseth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitstakunton, Parecombe, Long bridge, Stockelard, Wilmington bridge (where it receiueth a booke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Arie. From hence our Arie goeth to Dyke, Gushurie, Culliford: but per it come altogether at Culliford, it meeteth with a water that riseth about Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widdowstie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, proceedeth on after the confluence about Culliford bridge, into the Arie, and from thence hold on together into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter clifles, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berelwood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

But the other toward the east is named White, of which I saie no more, but that in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer aduentured into this Island, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Island, but Athelstane met and countered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew sir thousand of his aforesaid enemies. Not one of them also that remained alive, escaped from the battell without some deable or verie greuous wound. In this conflict moreover were slaine five kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Areminster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the cheefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Herbin to it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Wyndune nere to Coliton, and indured euen to Areminster, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anye brightness, untill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was cleere and nothing cloudie.

Sidde.
Seton.

As for the haven which in times past as I haue heard, hath bene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there bene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betwene the two points of the old haven, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie east point of it, and the riuer Arie is driuen to the verie east point of the haven called White cliffe. Therat also a verie little gull goeth into the sea, whither small fisherboates do oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the haven to haue changed the course of the Arie, and (almost in the middle of the old haven) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Arie, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west north west, whereof riseth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betwene Arie bridge and Arie mouth towne into the Arie riuer.

Colie.

Sid.

Atrie alids
Otterrie.

By west of Berelworth point lieth a creeke, serued (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilles south of Southele or Brancome. Sidmouth haven is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another haven, and thither commeth a pretie riueret, whose

head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Wpauter, then by a parke side to Spurburns Auter, Punketon, Honniton, Buckelwell, and north of Atrie receiueth a rill called Sale, that riseth north west of Wodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Dechemburie, Wminiton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadde and Atrie, to Herford, Lutton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea. On the west side of this haven is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be sene also, that within lesse space than one hundred yeers, ships did vse this haven, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie haven of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little creeke comming out of the maine haven vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past bene a towne of great estimation.

The Cre riseth in Cremore in Summersetshire, nere vnto Cre crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Creford, Wilsford, and Crinum, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it meet with a pretie booke rising north east of Whetell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with thre rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Waddon, & sone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like sort the Done at Watkebridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth meet with the Cre, almost in the verie confines betwene Dorset & Summerset shires. Being past this coniunction, our Cre passeth betwene Wyshford and Spurbath, and then to Cre bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Austie: and after this likewise another on eith side, whereof one commeth from Driford, and Baunton, the other called Wodburne, somewhat by east of Wkeford. From these meetings it goeth to Caue and through the forest and woods to Watherland and Wathfields, untill it come to Auerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riseth about Albittle, & commeth downe by Hocktwothie, vpper Loman, and so to Auerton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming booke or Sunnings bath. After this our Cre goeth to Bichleie, Thener, ten (taking in a rill by west) nether Cre, Bramford, beneath which it ioineeth with the Columbe that riseth of one head north east of Clarie Baldon, and of another south of Shildon, and meeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashford, it runneth south to Wood, Pore haies, Columpton, Wandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I said) with the Cre at Bramford, passing vnder but one bridge, per it meet with another water by west, growing of the Foxten and Cride waters (except it be so that I do iudge amisse.) The Cride riseth about Wolltwothie, and nere vnto Upton: after it is past Dewyth, crosseth a rill from betwene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it meeteth with the Foxten, whereof one branch commeth by Caldbroke, the other from S. Marie Ledburne, and ioining about Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which per long also receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Cre, which staeth not untill it come to Greester. From Greester (whither the burgeses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Wlere, there taking in a rill from by west, and another lower by Erminster, next of all vnto Toppes ham, beneath which towne the Clue entreth there into,

Cre.

Barleie.
Done alids
Done stoke.

Wodburne.

Lomund or
Simming.
Columbe.

Crider.
Foxten.

Clue.

Ben.

into, which rising about Plumtree, goeth by Clift Haddon, Clift Laurence, Rhode Clift, Honiton, Borton, Bishops Clift, S. Marie Clift, Clift saint George, and then into the Ore, that runneth forward by Portwell court, Linsdon and Ponderham castell. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ben, or Benton brooke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunford, Shillingford, Kenford, Ben, Borton, and so into Cree haue, at whose mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkstones, except I be deceived. The next fall, whereof Leland saith nothing at all, commeth by Ashcombe and Dunlish, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, it is a goodlie port foure miles from Cremouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the sea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Cibleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Cibleie towne, Teignton bur, where it receiue the Cro-

Croherne.

kerne comming from by north, and likewise another west of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Binford, Birlstowe, Cibleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiue the Sonie, whose course is to north Sonie, Lilleie, and Bontfracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Cidis, a brooke beneath Preston that commeth from Chersford by the waie. And when it is past this confluence, at kings Teignton, it crosseth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Walsels: and some after the Aller that riseth betwene Danburie and Marog well, afterward falling into the sea by Bishops Teignton, south of Teignmouth towne.

Sonie, Cidis.

Leman.

Aller.

The better better west point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Pesse, and is a verie high redcliffe. The east part of the haue is named the Poles, a low sandy ground, either cast up by the spuing of the land out of the Teigne, or else throwne up from the shore by the rage of wind and water. This land occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betwene the haue where the land riseth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (surnamed Regis) hath in time past ben soze defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignmouth we came to Tor baie, where of the west point is called Birie, and the east Perritoie, betwene which is little above foure miles. From Tor baie also to Dartmouth is six miles, where (saith Leland) I marked diuerse things. First of all upon the east side of the haue a great hillie point called Downesend, and betwixt Downesend, and a pointlet named Weresford is a little baie. Where it selfe, in like sort, is not full a mile from Downesend upward into the haue. Kingswere towne standeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Weresford is the second baie. Somewhat moreouer about Kingswere towne goeth a little crake by into the land from the maine streame of the haue called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for vessels to be made in. In like sort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer crake, and about that also a greater than either of these called Saluiston, whose head is here not halfe a mile from the maine sea, by the compassing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart.

The river of Dart or Darent (for I read Darenta mouth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore sixtine miles about Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forestie ground as Ermore is. Of it selfe moreouer this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes thereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so shaketh the depth of the river downward, that the haue it selfe is almost spoiled by the

same. The mariners of Dartmouth account this to be about a kenning from Plimouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his spring, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and some after taking in the Ashburne water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfastlich that cometh from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darrington, Hemson, and there also crossing a rill on each side passeth south to Totnesse, Bowden, and about Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth under Ross bridge, two miles about Totnesse, or (as another saith) by Katter, Harberton, Painesford, and Alpremon into Darent, which ver long also cometh to Cornetworthie, Crenelwaite, Ditham, Dartmouth towne (whereunto king John gaue sometimes a maior, as he did unto Totnesse) from thence betwene the castles, and finally into sea.

Ashburne.

Buckfastlich.

Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokescomming to another water, which cometh from blacke Auton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this baie by the Start point, we saile almost directlie west, till we come to Saltcombe haue. Certes this port hath verie little fresh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (such as it is) riseth nere Buckland, and goeth to Duddbrooke, which standeth betwene two crakes. Thence it bieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whose head cometh from south and north of Shereford. Finally, it hath another crake that runneth by by Ilton: and the last of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whose head is so nere the baie last afore remembred, that it maketh it a sozie peninsula (as I haue heard it said.)

Then come we to the Astone, whose head is in the hills farre above Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirsford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleston, and so into the sea ouer against a rocke called Michaels burrow. Arme riseth about Harford, thence to Stoford, Julie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardon, Dvne well, and so into the sea, which is full of flats and rocks, so that no ship cometh thither in anie tempest, except it be forced thereto, through the bittermost extremitie and desperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Castile lost two ships here in the daies of king Henrie the seventh, when he was driven to land in the west countrie by the rage of weather. Palme goeth by Cornelwood, Slade, Stratleie, Palinton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and so into the sea, about foure miles by south east from the maine streame of Plimouth. Being past these portlets, then next of all we come to Plimouth haue, a verie busie place to describe, because of the numbers of waters that resort vnto it, & small helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courses; yet will I do what I may in this, as in the rest, and so much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as shall suffice my purpose in this behalfe.

Astone.

Arme.

She Head.

pag. 792, 793,

794.

Tolme.

Plim.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie same water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ships do ride, is walled on each side and chained ouer in time of necessitie, and on the south side of the haue is a blocke house upon a rockie hill: but as touching the river it selfe, it riseth in the hills west of Cornelwood, and cometh downe a short course of three miles to Betwenham after it be issued out of the ground. From Betwenham also it runneth to Plimpton, and some after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariseth north west of Shepshout, & goeth fro thence to Pemchurch, Hele, Shane, Wickleie, and so to Esford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one under the name of Plim, untill

Stoure aliás Estwaite.

untill it go past Plimmonth, and fall into the haven south east of Plimmonth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whye so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Britith word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolved for a season: but afterward finding the word to be mere Saron, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saronie, I yeldeo to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Sarons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmonth it selfe standeth betwene two creeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that discharge it selfe into the aforesaid haven. Going therfore by that streame which for the most part parteth Devonshire from Cornewall, the first riueret that I met withall on the east side is called Tanie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles about Peters Tanie, beneath which it meteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Parte Tanie betwene them, though nothing nere the confluence. From hence the Tanie or Tanie runneth to Taulstocke, about which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another about north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmoze, and cometh therewith by Sandford and Harrold bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton folie. Having thus dispatched the Tanie, the next that falleth in on the east side upwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hills about Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, about which it receiue the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredifon, goeth by Trusholton to Thaine, where it receiue a rill that cometh by Bradwood from Germanwike, and after the confluence runneth to Lifson, and from thence into the Thamar. The next about this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Clwell or Helwell, and going by Wirginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase untill it come to Thamar. Pert of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one cometh in by Glanton, the other from Holswothie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west north west of Ledcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about thre miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betwene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it cometh to Denbortow, Pancrase well, Bridge Neuell, Tamerton, Ledcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Mirrington, where it meteth with a water on the west side called Arceie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort fro this confluence, we met with the Kenfeie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treeneglos, Treenone, Trefmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowthippton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Plitherwic, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, untill it met with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Callstocke bridge, Callstocke towne, Clifton, Cargrene (thereabouts taking in a creeke about Landilip) and running on from thence, halseth

toward Saltash, where it receiue the Luer water. The head of Luer is about Bzombwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to Poyth hill, Lehenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from about Kellington) it runneth on to Peluton, Pillaton, Motton, Blofleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Biton by Duthstocke, saint Germans, and Shenlocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betwene Erle and Fro Martine castell, and some after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Millbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betwene saint Michaels Ile and Kidden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmonth water, and all such falles as are betwene Peluton rocke on the east side, and the Kam head on the other.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came some after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Himbeniet, Chafrench, Tregotwike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Loto, and going in betwene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence about Loto. The chiefe head riseth in the hills, as it were two miles about Caine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little about Loto, where it crosseth and joineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Pert vnto these are two other rills, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawp.

Foy or Fawp riuer riseth in Fawp moze, on the side of an hill in Fawp moze, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it meet with the Clin water west of Clin towne, which rising about Temple, & meeting with a rill that cometh in from S. Peotes, both fall into Fawp a mile and more about Kelspin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Kelspin bridge, Kessermen castell, Lottwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Colant, and here also receiue the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his wate into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the fining house. Being thus vnited, it proceedeth vnto Fawp towne, taking in a rill or creeke from about it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth thre god miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawp riseth in Fawp moze (about two miles from Camelford by south, and sixtene miles from Fawp towne) in a verie quauie mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Dainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, Petu bridge, Kelspin bridge, and Lottwithiell bridge, where it meteth with a little brooke, and nere there vnto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and some after joining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Winnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Winnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the haven, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pssl or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said haven: it goeth by also not about a mile and

Luer.

Sutton.

Loto.

Polpir.
Fawp.

Clin.

Lerine.

Fawp.

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. Cle-an

Cane or
Tanie.

Lidde.

Trushell.

Core.

Thamar.

Arceie.

Kenfeie.

Enian.

ret in on Fleet
longing some
time to shoun
tegeu a ppro-
ric.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs cræke to Poul-
mozland a mile, and this likewise goeth by scant a
quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it par-
teth it selfe in twaine. From Poulmozland weto
Bodnecke billage halfe a mile, where the passage and
repassage is commonlie to ffawp. From Bod-
necke to Belene point (where a cræke goeth by not
fullie a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to
Poultraan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poultraan
is a towre of force, marching against the towre on
ffawp side, betwene which (as I doe heare) a chaine
hath sometime bene stretched, and likelie inough; for
the haven there is hardly two bow shot ouer. The ve-
rie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this
hauen, is called Pontus crosse, but now Panuche
crosse. It shall not be amisse in this place somewhat
to intreat of the towne of ffawp, which is called in
Cornish Comwath, and being situat on the north-
side of the haven, is set hanging on a maine rockie
hill, being in length about one-quarter of a mile, ex-
cept my memorie deceiue me.

Comwath.

The renowne of ffawp rose by the wars vnder
king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Hen-
rie the sixt, partly by feats of armes, and partly by
plaine piracie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling
themselves somewhat at ease and strong in their pur-
ses, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in
this their new deuise, that as they trauelled into all
places, so merchants from all countries made resort
to them, whereby within a while they grew to be ex-
ceeding rich. The ships of ffawp sailing on a time
by Rhie and Winchelsea in the time of king Ed-
ward the third, refused stoutlie to bale anie bone-
t there, although warning was giuen them so to do by
the portgreues or rulers of those townes. Hereby
on the Rhie and Winchelsea men made out vpon
them with cut and long talle: but so hardlie were
they interteined by the ffawp pirates (I should saie
aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe
with no small losse and hinderance. Such fauour
found the ffawp men also immediately vpon this
bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their
winching aduersaries, and riding rapiers (as they
called them in mockerie) they altered their armes
and compounded for new, wherein the scutcheon of
Rhie and Winchelsea is quartered with theirs, and
beside this the foyens were called the gallants of
ffawp or foy, whereof they not a little reioiced,
and more peraduenture than for some greater bottie.
And thus much of ffawp towne, wherein we see
what great successe often cometh of witlesse and
rash aduentures. But to returne againe to our pur-
pose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing
some desire to finish by this our voyage, we will
leauie the ffawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of
fow or faw-
wyp.

Being therefore past this haven, we come into
Tretwardith baie, which lieth into the land betwene
Canuasse and the Blacke head point, and hereabout
Leland placeth *Prætorium promontorium*. In this we
saw the fall of two small brookes, not one verie far
distant from another. The first of them entring west
of Tretwardith, the other east of saint Blaies, and
both directlie against Tretwarder rocke, except I
mistake my compasse. Neither of them are of anie
great course, and the longest not full thre miles and
an halfe. Wherefore sith they are neither branched nor
of anie great quantitie, what should I make long
harvest of a little corne, and spend more time than
may well be spared about them?

Russell.

When we were past the Blacke head, we came
to Russell brooke, which is increased with a water
that cometh from above Melwan, and within a
mile after the confluence, they fall into the sea at
Pentozen, from whence we went by the Blacke

rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to
Chare haies, where falleth in a pretie water, whose
head is two miles about saint Tucs. Whence we
went by here and there a mere salt cræke, till we
passed the Graie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S.
Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt
to enter into ffalamouth haven.

The ffala riseth a little by north of Penwenton
towne, and going westward till it come down towards
10 toward saint Dionise, it goeth from thence to Mel-
der, saint Steuens Grampont, Gelson, Crede, Coz-
neleie, Tregue, Doran, Tregunnan, it falleth into
the haven with a good indifferent force: and this is
the course of ffala. But least I should seeme to omit
those crækes that are betwene this and S. Antho-
nies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch
in so manie of them, as come now to my remem-
brance. Enttring therefore into the port, we haue a
cræke that runneth by by saint Anthonies toward
20 saint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land
by east of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, pas-
sing in the meane time by a great rocke, that lieth in
the verie midst of the haven, in maner of the third
point of a triangle, betwene saint Maries castell
and Bendinant.

Whence we cast about by the said castell, and came
by another cræke that falleth in by east, then the se-
cond above saint Iustus, the third at Ardenora, the
fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were visited all
30 these in order, we come backe againe about by Tre-
gonnisan, and then going vntoward betwene it and
Taluern, till we came to Fentargolan, we found
the confluence of two great crækes beneath saint
Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming
downe by S. Werther, the other another from Tru-
ro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one
of them of anie greatnesse, and therefore vntowthie
to be handled. Pole hole standeth vpon the head al-
most of the most easterlie of them. S. Benwen and
40 Turo stand above the confluence of other two. The
fourth falleth in by west from certeine hills: as for
the fifth and sixt, as they be little crækes and no fresh,
so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about
them.

Of saint Cate, and saint Feokes cræke, whose
issue is betwene Kestronget and cræke of Turle,
I see no cause to make any long speech; yet I remem-
ber that the towne of S. Feoke standeth betwene
50 them both. That also called after this saint, rising a-
bout Perannarwothill, and comming thence by
Birchlo, falleth into ffalamouth, north-east of Apiloz,
which standeth vpon the point betwene it and Apiloz
cræke. Apiloz cræke is next Kestronget: some call
it Apiloz pole, from whence we went by Trefussis
point, and there found an other great fall from Pe-
rin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin
towne almost in the verie confluence. And thus
much by my collection of the fall. But for so much as
Leland hath taken some paines in the description of
60 this riuer, I will not suffer it to perishe, sith there is
other matter contained therein worthie remem-
brance, although not deliuered in such order as the
thing it selfe requirerth.

The verie point (saith he) of the haven mouth (be-
ing an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is
called Bendinant. It is about a mile in compasse,
almost inuironed with the sea: and where the sea co-
uereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small
maistrie to make Bendinant an Island. Further-
more, there lieth a cape or foreland within the haven
a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maister Bil-
ligretwes house one great arme of the haven run-
neth by to Pentrine towne, which is thre miles from
the verie entrie of ffalamouth haven, and two good
miles

ffala.

S. Cate.
S. Feokes

Apiloz.

ffala.

Lewine.

miles from Penfussis. Moreover, there is Lewine, Drifelo, betwixt saint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good haven but for the barre of sand. But to proceed.

Spiloz.

Kestronget.

S. Jockes.
S. Caie.

Crurie cræke

Spogan.

Gravnd pont.

Glutius.
S. Maues.

The first cræke or arme that casteth on the north-west side of Falemouth haven, goeth up to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the lesse runneth to Glasenith, *Vindus natus*, the greene nest, or Magimære at Penrine: the other to saint Glutias the parish church of Penrine. In like sort out of each side of Penrine cræke, breaketh an arme per it come to Penrine. This I understand also that stakes and foundations of stone have bene set in the cræke at Penrine a little lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howsoever this standeth betwixt the point of Trefussis and the point of Kestronget is Spiloz cræke, which goeth up a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ships. The next cræke beyond the point of Kestronget, is called Kestronget, which going two miles up into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Kestronget and the cræke of Trurie be two crækcs; one called saint Jockes, the other saint Caie, next unto which is Trurie cræke that goeth up about two miles creaking from the principall streame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, casting in a branch westward even hard by Petoham wood.

This cræke of Trurie is divided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them having a broke comming downe and a bidge, the towne of Trurie standeth betwixt them both. In like sort Kenwon street is severed from the said towne with this arme, and Clements street by east with the other. Out of the bodie also of Trurie cræke breaketh another eastward a mile from Trurie, and goeth by a mile and a halfe to Cressilian bidge of stone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this cræke is a rode of ships called Apples rode: and here fought not long since eightene ships of Spanissh merchants, with foure ships of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards drave the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe above the mouth of Crurie cræke, is another named Lhan Spogan of S. Spogans church at hand. This cræke goeth up a quarter of a mile from the maine streame into the haven, as the maine streame goeth by two miles above Spogan cræke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher, is the towne of Cregotwie, where we found a bidge of stone upon the Fala river. Fala it selfe riseth a mile or more west of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I saw a bidge of stone.

This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregotwie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his course. From Cregotwie to passe downe by the bodie of the haven of Fala, mouth to the mouth of Lanie hozne pill or cræke, on the south side of the haven is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth up halfe a mile from the principall streame of the haven. From Lanthorne pill also is a place or point of sand about a mile wate of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninsula) called Ardencranter. As for the water or crækcs that runneth into the south southeast part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile up into the land, and the cræke that hemmeth in this peninsula, of both doth seme to be the greater: from the mouth of the west cræke of this peninsula, unto saint Justes cræke, is foure miles or more.

In like manner from saint Justes pill or cræke (for both signifie one thing) to saint Pawes cræke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwene them both is called Pendinas. The cræke of saint Pawes goeth up a two miles by east northeast into the land,

and beside that it ebbeth and floweth so farre, there is a mill driven with a fresh cræke that resorteth to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the haven, is a cræke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the south side entereth a cræke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is another little crækelet. But how so ever these crækcs do run, certeine it is that the banks of them that belong to Fala are meruellouslie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being past Falemouth haven therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maister Killegrewes place which standeth on the brynne or thore within Falemouth) we came to a little haven which ran by betwene two hilles, but it was barred: therefore we could not learne whether it were served with anie backe fresh water or not.

From thence we went by Polwitherrall cræke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenritsh, whereunto a riueret falleth that riseth not farre from thence, and so goeth to the maine streame of the haven at the last, whither the cræke resorteth about thre miles and more from the mouth of the haven, and into which the water that goeth under Gare and Spogan bidges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Unto this haven also repairerth the Denkesell, the Callous, the Chellow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth against saint Pawons on the hither side hard without the haven mouth (if I have done aright.) For so motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are those booke of Leland which I have, and beside that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a manner) picke out anie sense from them by a lease together. Therefore I suppose that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose: or else he was loth that anie man should easilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no lesse travell attained unto by experience. Thus leaving Fala haven, as more troublesome for me to describe, than profitable for seafaring men, without god aduise to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came straight south-west to Holford haven, whose water cometh downe from Wtrecke (where is a confluence of two small rilles whereof that rill consisteth) by Patogan and Trelawarren, and then it receiveth a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence it goeth a maine untill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is spoiled by sand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Beaca. Beneath this also is another rill comming from S. Partys, by whose course, and another over against it on the west side that falleth into the sea by Winniton, all openage is left almost in maner of an Island. From hence we go south to the Panacle point, then south-west to Lifard, and so north and by west to Predanocke points, beyond which we meet with the fall of the said water, that riseth in the edge of openag, and goeth into the sea by Wlilien on the north, and Winniton on the south. By north also of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth thort of Pagan, and toucheth with the Ocean south of Pengwenian point.

From hence we sailed to the Lw mouth, which some call Lopole, because it is narrower at the fall into the sea, than it is betwene the sea and Hailston. It riseth above S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wlendon, it hasterh to Hailston or Hellsen, from whence onelie it is called Lw: but betwene Hellsen and the head, men call it commonlie Cohoz. Of this riuer Leland saith thus: The Lopole is two miles in length,

Polwitherrall.
Polpenritsh.

wike.
Gare.
Spogan.
Denkesell.
Callous.
Chellow.
Gilling.

Walle.

Curie.

Lw.

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in thre or foure yeeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but some after the mouth of it is barred up againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and eele) draineth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie haueu by vnto Haleson towne, where coinage of tin is also bled, as at Turie and Loffwithiell, for the quænes aduantage.

Simmele.

Lid.

Being passed the Lid, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crotwan by Simmele, whose whole course is not aboute fiftie miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going straight north (leaving S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising thort of Lewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, fith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboute foure miles, and not more than fife at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Rozugie, and Culual, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Bensants: and nota full quarter of a mile from the second, south west of Bensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Petulin, from whence going south west out of the baie by Spouthole Ile, that lieth south of Spouthole towne, we come to a water that entreteth into the Ocean betwixt Kemels & Lamozleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betwene them both, and ioining aboute Kemels, it is not long per they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Roscassell, there are two other crækes, whereof one is called Boskennie, that riseth south of saint Burians, and another somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Burians to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not nere the lands end by thre miles. This latter rill also is the last that I do reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Ies baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Wesan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haille, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hille here, as for saint Ies towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

Wesan Ile.

Haille.

Clowart.

Caine.

The Haille riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chiefe head of Haille riseth by west of Godalfin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiuethe the second, and best of the other thre rilles from Godalfin towne: finally, coming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Helacke, which hath two heads, the said villiage standing directlie betwixt them both.

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Para Darwaile. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Ani, another by Medreuth, and meeting within a mile,

they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tug Luggam, a mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other crækes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth; and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost thre miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Hence going by the Panrocke, and west of saint Piran in the land, we find a course of thre miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts do meet at west aboute saint Hibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans cræke, for the next is Carantocke pill or cræke, whose head is at Gulsuorth, from whence it goeth vnto Tre-rise, and some after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another cræke that riseth aboute little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Pine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Perous cræke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. When turning betwene the point and the blacke rocke, we entered into Padstow haueu thre miles lower than port Ziler, and a mile from port Gwin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

S. Pirans cræke. Carantocke.

Padstow, Locus bufo, nis.

Alannag.

Eniam.

The Alan ariseth flat east from the haueu mouth of Padstow, well nere eight or nine miles about Dauidstone, nere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Hamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and some after receiuethe a rill at northeast, descending from Kouters hill. Hence it goeth to Bliseland, and Helham, the first brdge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Per long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodiman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Methiell, no one of them exceeding the course of thre miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Zgle-saleward, and there receiuethe a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Teath, by Michellston, saint Tuckoe, saint Guben (no Cornish patrons) and finally south of Zglesall, meeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Wodbrdge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alen or Alen, there should fall two riuers, whereof the one is called Carnesele, the other Laine, and coming in the end to full notice of the matter, I se them to issue on severall sides beneath Wodbrdge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from north west, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carnesele, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the south west banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles about S. Gile. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, there are two other crækes on eche side also, beneath these, as Bethyke cræke, and Spinner cræke (so called of the Cornish saints) for that soile byed manie, where with I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water.

Carnesele, Laine.

Bethyke, Spinner.

Dunmere.

From Padstow haueu also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the haueu, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remembere how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestow, and should signifie so much as *Athelstani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time past sundrie charters of priuilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stoyed with Irishmen. But to our purpose, Le-

land

land supposeth this river to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatal conflict: for to this daie men that doe eare the ground there, doe off plots by bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasie pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus passed Wadstow haue, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fisher towne, where I find a brooke and a pære. Then I came to Portfisc alias Cunilus two miles further, and found there a brooke, a pære, and some succor for fisher boats. Part of all vnto a brooke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Saucene sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Island. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Durdagie castell standeth, which is a thing interpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag frutoned with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Hellet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in lunder.

The next crêke is called Bosinnit, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwie water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two hills, thereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an haucnet or pære, whither shippets sometime doe resort for succour. A frise of late daies toke vpon him to make an hauein at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as Isles, at the west north west point, or side of this crêke, the one (sauiug that a little gut doth part them) joining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gules. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell crêke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not aboue two miles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, thereof the first is called Lesheth, the second saint Juliet, the third Spinster, and the fourth Boscastell or Buthcastell, as some men doe pronounce it.

In Wode bate I find the Wode water, whose chiefe head is not farre from Porton. Hence running to Stratton, it receiueith the Lancels rill before it come at Porham. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie wyke, from whence it runneth by Wollston and Whalesborough, and thence into the sea betwene Efford and Blough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betwene the point of Cornetwall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornetwall. Now let vs doe the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, whereof the said Hartland is the verie first point in this our poeticall booke. Having therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Warstable bar, and so into the hauein, whereinto two principall streams doe perpetuallie vnburden their chanelles.

The first and moze westerlie of these is called Ocus, whose head is not farre west of the head of Darat, and both in Dartmoore. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth north west to Snoton, and so to Dorchampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water coming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Lawe. From hence it goeth to Stoto Erbozne, Ponke Dkington, & Jodelleie, where it taketh in the Larridge a be-

rie pretie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of Hamar, three miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Peto-ton, and Shebbor, it receiueith a forked rill that runneth from eche side of Wadworthie by Sutcombe, Trebozow, Milton, & so to Thoznebric, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunland, joineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with speed into the Larridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shæpetwash (by west thereof falleth in the Bockland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and so to Hailtherlaie, north whereof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Jodelleie, by joining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receiueith one rill from by east, as it doth an other betwene Doulton and Parton from by west, and so proceeding on with his course, it commeth east of Loxington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betwene which Combe and Roughtborough are situate, it descendeth to Loxington the more, and meeting with the Langtræ water on the one side, and the Langtræ, where brooke on the other, it proceedeth to Bedford, crossing a rill by the wake that commeth vnto it betwene Annarie & Litcham. From Bedford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Welleleie, Port-ham, Apeldoure, and so into the hauein.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithstanding that his hauein be barred with sand, and thereby dangerous, and hath most rills descending into his chanel. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the north side of the mores. The Taw riseth directlie at south west of Thozneleie, and north of the head of Darat, or (as Leland saith) in Ermoze south east from Warstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Lanteton, Cockatre, Bath, Porystaneton, Alshidge, Colridge, and some after receiueith the Bolwmill crêke, whereof one head riseth at Bolw, the other at Apill, and meeting beneath Willsops Porchard, they fall into the Taw north of Spimeth Kowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chynligh, by south whereof it meeteth with a rill comming doونه of two heads from about Kakenford, by Wetheridge and Chynleie. Hence it goeth to Burrington, and Chyltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Poulebrat water consisting of two in one chanel, whereof the Woll doth rise aboue north Spoulton, and comming to Spoulton receiueith another rill running from Poland, and some after the second that growing by two brookes (the head of one being at Anawston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both uniting themselves beneath Parisson) doth fall into the same ver long also, and so go together till it crosse the Wate, which (being the second of the two that maketh the Poulebrat) riseth at Wate, commeth by Buckland, Wate, and south of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Lanteton, Lantestocke, & Verstable, sometime a pretie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in deed, as that the suburbs thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the British speech was Abertaw, because it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Verdbelle pronounced short (as I gesse) for Abertelle. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to doe in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is also worthie to be noted hereof, that the houses there are

Tredwie.

Boscastell.

Wode.

Lancels.

Ocus.

Larridge.
Turrege.

Bockland.

Langtræ.
were of
ware.

Taw.

Bolwmill.

Poulebrat.

Wate.

of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head nere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they bruite themselves within thre miles of Hertaple. Some after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Wtenden by Athford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chapell, named the Doneham, bicause one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ath. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appere in Low water marke at Hertaple, and yet is it a pretie riueret. This also is worthy to be noted thereof, that it receiue no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by Poze baie, Poxtone alias Poststone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a creekelet to Zlfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie creekes of salt water, but not serued with antie fresh that I as yet doe heare of. Parrie there is betwene Martinbois & Trensow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betwene Linton and Conisberie called Dye, which riseth in Summersetshire in Crinoze (east of Poze oke, more than a mile) and going by Dure, falleth into the sea betwene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Doxtloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokeperro, Lucham and Doxtloch without increase. Thence to Dunstair brooke, which runneth from about Wotston, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunstair, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantoche hills south of Wickualer by Westquantoche head, and almost at Doniford, receiue the Williton becke, then to east Quantoche brooke (omitting a creekelet) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Wottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

The first of these is called the Tuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Po, who saith that the riuer Po doth runne from Zlfesser to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth about Burne, and at Shireburne receiue a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seven springs in an hill called the seven sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottom, & come into the Pore. Another brooke likewise commeth by Heldon from Puscabell, thre miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the spere full so great as the streame of the spere, and joining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the spere water, it is not long yer it fall into the C-

uill. Thence our Tuill goeth on towards Clafen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Gylburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Tuell) and so to Clifton, Tuill a proper market towne, Trent, Puttford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade, that runneth from Parlington, by north Cabbirie, and soone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cabbirie, Sparkeford, Quenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Tuell, which runneth on to Bimington, Zlfesser, Zlfybridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betwene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehome, and at Periot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses united at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from about the thre Chenocks, as I doe understand.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambroke, Thorneie bridge, and Spuchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Zlf or Ilus, whose head is about Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadwozth, before it come at Dunnet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Zlfmister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it croseth the Zlfon water by west) next to Zlfzuers, and there it ioineeth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Wicknell and Abbats Zlfie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Tuell loseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Tuell, till it fall into the sea. Pertherthelesse, howeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Amber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

The Tone issueth at Clatwozthie, and goeth by west of Willuckcombe, to Sratoleie, Kifford, Kuntton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water coming from Sanford Combe, Elwozthie, Brint Kafe, Siluerton, Oke and Hilsarens. After this confluence alid it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethford and Porxon, then another from Crokeham by bishops Sledford, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Bington by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Kiffon, Crech, Pothcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Tuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuer that commeth by east from Pothbozow, by Carleton, Badcare, Lilecare, Somerton, Higham, Andzie moze, Andzie, and Spichellbozow. From whence going on betwene Quenes moze and Poth moze, it receiueeth one brooke called Pedder from by south west, that runneth through Pederton parke and Poth moze; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it doe come at Bridge water. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directly north west, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters

Doncham.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breadth of
Deuonshire &
Cornewall.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williton.
Doddington.

Iuelus.

The seven
sisters.

Cade.

10

20

30

40

50

60

Parret.

Zlf.

Zlfon.

Tone.

Chare or
Care.

Pedet.

Camington.
Burr.

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Cozypole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Slodington and Comage, and then receiving the Brier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Ruell, whose streame doth water all the west part of Summerfethire and leaueh it verie fruitfull.

Brier.

Leland writeth the first Brieuculus and the second Mellodunus or the Wiltun water.

Dulis.

Somale or Stowale.

Cos.

The Brier, Buer, or Bær, riseth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood forest, & commeth downe by Buecombe, Buiham, and Bzuton. The other which Leland nameth Spellos, is northest of Staffordell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Acollinch, to Wike; where it meeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Alunford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth nere Wolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Walsboro woad, the Torhill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calbur his sword) by Claffenburie and so into the Spere. Beside this riuer there are two other also that fall into the said Spere, whereof the one called Solwaie commeth from Crechchurch parke, and Wiltun by Hartlache bidge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from about Shepton, Hallet (which east of Wike taketh in a water coming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and so into the Spere. Finally, returning all into one chanel, it runneth to Wurtlehouse, and some after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian alias Went bidge, to High bidge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by south west, the other by Parke to Rokes bidge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Island, wherein beside Wentmarth are seuen or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Calwele; you shall vnderstand that as manie springs are in Welles, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a meadow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Wiltun & Colaser waters, which should fall likewise into the Brier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth about Staffordell, and in the descent runneth by Shipton, Witcombe, and so to Alunford on the one side, as the other doth rise betwene Batcombe and Wiltun noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are severallic to be attributed: as yet I doe not read.

Wiltun,
Colaser.

Are.
The Chederbroke, diueth twelve miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Bane.

Artra.

Sortespill.

The second Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Aera, issueth out of Wike hole, from whence it goeth by Wike towne, afterward meeting with the Chederbroke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Aoli, whereof much hath bene written & furnished past credit. It runneth by Wike, Hartcliffe, and after a little compasse into the north east branch of the aforesaid riuer last described, betwene Rokes bidge and Hebbes passage, as I haue bene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Bane, north east of Wodsping, whose head is about Wankwell parke, or else in Smaldon woad. Then to another, and to the third, called Artra, which riseth about Wiltun, and going by the Artroes, Abbeie, Werribidge (receiving a rill per it come thither from by south) beneath Cungebirie, or (as I learne) betwene Kingston and Laurence Wike, it meeteth with the sea.

Sortespill water riseth betwene Cheueleie and Halesleie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come

into the sea at Sortespill, more than the next into it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certaine towne nere to the fall thereof. It riseth south east of Barrow, goeth by Burton Halesleie, and so vnto Cleueden. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Wiltshire. Yet thus much will I note here thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same yere that the old monastrie of Gueham fell downe by it selfe, a popasse was taken therein nere to the said monastrie, and neuer anie before or since that time heard of to haue bene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgeon was taken alieue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honoz, and you would as gladielie haue sent it to the quenes maiestie, if she might haue bene presented withall alive as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrences gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Wiltun, when they appeare, do vnto that familie, of which the report goeth that they are neuer sene but against some mischance or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Brokenston, Whitchurch, and Palmesburie, where it receiveth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west coming by Foreleie and Bromleham, which runneth so nere to the Auon in the west suburbe of Palmesburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Island. Another from Dheleie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Carenden. After this confluence it passeth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the south east, till it meet with a water coming from south west (betwene Hullaington and Bradfield) by Aston: and some after with another at the north side from Winall by Wotton Bassett (through the parke to Grettenham, and Douer bidges) and after the confluence to Dauntseie, Hogar, Sutton, Chiffmalford, Auon, Calwaye house, and then to west Letherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one coming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie house and Hamble (and there receiving another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thenceforth goeth to Chippenham, Roddon, Lekham, and then receiuing Colham water, goeth to Lacoche, Melham, and per it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanel, whereof one riseth about Wymham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne woad, Creke woad, Woxton, Malton, Bucklington, and joining with the other about Littleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Staunton, and south west of that towne meeteth with the Ware that commeth from Wiltun by Wiltun, Woke parke (there crossing a rill called Wille from Westbirie under the plaine) then to north Wadaleie, Crubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Frelshford, it meeteth with the Frome, whose description doth inue.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hills, and from thence runneth by Astwyc, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Climebidge, and some after taketh in the Ponneie water, coming from Ponneie castell, thence to Walleis and Ponneie. D. Charles bidge, where it receiveth a pretie brooke G. ly. de scen.

Cleueden.

Auon.

Sturgeon taken in Rochester water.

Colham.

were.

westbirie brook & plaine, neuer without a theis or twaine.

Frome.

Ponneie.

The description of the Sauerne, & such waters as discharge themselves into the same.

Chap. 13.

Silling.

descending from Frome Selwood west of Backleie, increased with sundrie rills, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Frattre) another out of Long lead parke, from Horingham, and the fourth from Colleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castle, Wozd and Freshford, and taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiveth on the left hand a water coming from south west, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one cometh from Cameler by Littleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Cston, Midsummer Porton, by Welleson, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Folcot, and Welleson, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Porton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water coming from Barthford, whose head is at Littleton from whence it runneth by West Kineton to Castell combe (where it joineth with a rill rising by north from Littleton dune) and thence cometh south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Wor, Bathford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, passeth to Bathwicke, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldafton) to Bath, the Tuertons, and Colston.

Swinford.

Swinford porteth Summer & Gloucestershires in sunder.

Here also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Parkesburie by Milnerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it meeteth with one rill some west of Porstocke, named Swinford, and another by Witton, from Durham by Wilske, and so proceedeth still holding on his way to Calmham, a towne in Summer set thire (so called of Calm an English saint, by whose prayers, as the countie once beleued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserved, and for a certeine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some stoe as yet is to be found in those quarries. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Ylba, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie with his staffe; or that maid Kadegund should drive the crows to the pound, which did annoie hir come while she went unto a chapel to heare & see a masse) where it crosseth the Gute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiveth the Clue coming from Clinton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluences goeth to Wilselton, and so to Wyke, beneath which it receiveth a rill on each side (whereof one cometh from about Stoke lodge in Gloucestershire, being a faire water and running by Adon, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Wyke, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Bishopst and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Ratoneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finally into the sea, whither all waters by nature do resort.

Alberleie. Doureleie.

Topworth.

Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alberleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like manner he talketh of Doureleie becke, whose principal head is in Doureleie towne; howbeit he saith nothing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tuckling lacking milles, and goeth by Topworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finally, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Doureleie, he telleth of the Topworth becke, that runneth within a slight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alberleie or Auon, except I mistake his meaning, which may some be done among his confused notes.

The Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England of that part of the Island, which sometime was called Aboegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brut, as our histories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation doth vse to call all strangers without respect of countie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habzen or Hasteren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbus or Amar, and for which some write Chonibus king of Scythia, that sometime invaded this Island, and was overthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoni-* am; for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British speech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Amar, which is worthy to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habzen hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disolastie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habzen of the yong ladie, for which the Romans in procelle of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronounciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abzen also I find these verses insuing:

*In flumini praecipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, flumio de virgine, nomen eadem
Nominis corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.*

But to returne to our Sauerne, it falleth into the maine sea betwene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer doth kepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanel cometh farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pike, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finally, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the opennesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Yleminith or Yllimlimon; in English, the blacke mounteins, or moze heads, from whence also the Wye and the Rhiddoll do proceed: and therefore these thre waters are commonlie called the thre sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fiftene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So lone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Landolos, where it receiveth a chanel from by south south west, called the Dulas, which cometh thereinto on the south side, & south west of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should seme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire, and

Bacham.

Clewdogh.

Bacho.
Dungum.
Lheid.

Bigga.

Couine.
Carnon.
Caran.

Shawes.
Dulesse.

Spule.

Kenlet.
Camalet.
Care.

Lan Idolos.

Canet.
Peuerie or
Hyrnewie.

Haerneie.

Spordant.

and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meeteth at the last with the Bueham brooke, and so they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idolos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northweſt, a water produced by the influence of foure pretie brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum coming out of lin Glaslin, the third Lheid rising in lin Begilin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne proceedeth on by Werblaid toward Landman, taking in by the waie, on the east side the Couine, thence to Cairfule castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Caran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hales on the north halfe beneath Aberhalwes, next of all the Dulesse that riseth in the edge of Kadnoz shire, and meeteth with it before it come at Peboton in Powisie, otherwile called Teneuith, as I find in British language. Being come to Teneuith, I cannot elchue (right honorable) to giue onenote, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bed-fellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Pebotons onelie, for that the grandfather of sir John Peboton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwise the right name is Carador, for which some do corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortnesse of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue bene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and seruice; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Connoanies of Summerſetshire: but in what order they descended to the Pebotons, in good sooth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our ruer, which being past Peboton, runneth forth by Landlouarne, and so forth on till it come to the fall of the Spule, whose head is in the edge of Kadnoz also, and thereto his passage by Kerie and Lannereitwic. After this also it proceedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in also the Late or Ladbroke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops towne, the whole course thereof being about seauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard). Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a pretie brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priore stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne thore, and likewise of the Lan Idolos brooke that meeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onelie leaning the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by Poze, Liddiom, Sued, Churchſtocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winsibirie, and so into the Sauerne. From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fozdon, Leighton, and Landzeuie toward Meluerleie, and there it meeteth with sundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Canet is a berie pretie water (whereinto the Peuerie or Hyrnewie doth fall, which descendeth from the hilles by west of Patrasfall not farre from Lhan Ffilin) the other Auernie, and joining beneath Abertan-noth, or about Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long per they meet with the Spordant brooke, and there lose their names so some as they ioine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Spordant issueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerſe saie, that the parish church of crosse Oswald

or Oswester sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirteene miles northweſt from Shrewſburie, and containeth a mile within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great strates, of which one is called Stratlan, another Willih, the third Weterich, wherein are one hundred and foxtie barns standing on a rolo belonging to the citizens or burgelles, and the fourth named the Blackegate street, in which are thirtie barns maintained for corne & haie. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bow those without the wall; & going under the same betwene Thozogate & Pebogate, running under the Blackegate. There is another, ouer whose course the Wade rikes or Wederich gate standeth, and therefore called Wederich brooke. The third passeth by the Willigate or Pebogate, & these fall all together with the Crosse brooke, a mile lower by south into the Spordant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Spordant towne, and betwene Landzeuie and Meluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheuerdon castell, Mountford, and Biston chapell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is about Sperton, the other at Clifmire, and joining betwene Woodhouses & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Kadnall, Halton, Teddesmer, Roiton, Bachurch, Walſord, Craſton, Spiton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leſton, Barwicke, vpper Kollall, Shelton, and so to Shrewſburie, where it crosseth the Spele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Welſon.

The Spele therefore rising at Welſon, goeth by Spele, Broton, Moorthen, Aſton Pigot, Welſleie, Aſterleie, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunſon. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Welſburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Hoball, Bulleie, Bacemele, and Shrewſburie, it falleth (as I said) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Wſington, Preſton, and betwene Chilton and Bampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthy to be well handled; if it late in me to perſorme it. This ruer riſeth in a mere beſide Welbydige parke, nere vnto Terneſmere village in Staſſordſhire. From thence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Porton, Wetton, and at Drayton Hales crosseth with a water comming from about Abbaddon (where maſſer Bodoche dwelleth) and runneth by Chippingham and Amming: so that the Terns on the one side, and this brooke on the other, do incloſe a great part of Bloze heath, where a noble battell was sometime purpoſed betwene king Henrie the ſir, and the duke of Poike: but it wanted execution.

But to proceed. After this confluence, it runneth to Drayton Hales, Ternehill bydige: and per long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Deplaw, and Caton, where it crosseth with a brooke that riſeth about Binton, and going by Wygham, Porton, the great Mere, Fozton, Bilton, Pickſtocke, Beinton, Tibberton, and Boſlas, it ioineth with the ſaid Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it meeteth with another brooke that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Pebopost, Longford, Aldneie, and so through the Wilde moze to Kinſleie & Slaſpe, and finally into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Eſton bydige, and nere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Quenleie, crosseth a rill from Cowlemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to Porton,

Simons
becke.

Wederich.

Haberleie.

Terne.

See Hen. 6.
pag. 649.

Roden.

Horton, and (joining with another rill beneath Ponlaie that commeth from Spidle) runneth on to Allen, Alton, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Whæes ward, and so to Le. Bedford, Stanton, Horton, Shabze, Panton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charkton, Upton, Horton, Barwyke, Acham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wene.)

Guerne.

weniocke or
Rhe.

woyfe.

Marbwoke.

Dowlelle.

Lempe.

Stoure.

Asteie.

Doure.
Sulwaie.

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to perfoyme. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth unto Korater or Korcesser, Bampton, Eaton upon Sauerne, Watton, where it ioineith with the Guerne that runneth from Frodesleicward by Withall and Pithford, Cressedge, Carneston, Leighton, and betwene the two Wildasses crosseth the Rbe or Weniocke water, and so goeth on to Brolleie and Woyd parke, where it uniteth it selfe with another bwoke to be described in this place, whilst the Sauerne rests, and recreates it selfe here among the pleasant bottoms.

This water ariseth above Longcastell, and per it haue run anie great distance from the head, it meeteth with a rill coming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Watton, Koston, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, coming by Haughton and Cuelin, it proceedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Woyfe (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and so passeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Woxfield: a little from thence (about Wicken) it taketh in another bwoke into it called Gurle, & so goeth on to Kingleford, and then into Sauerne somewhat above Widge, north at Penston mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Widge north our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbwoke beneath Eaton that riseth above Collaton, and goeth by Pozuill & Wnderton, it runneth by Wdmanston, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a bwoke coming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingsleie, and Higgleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Clarne wood parke, Hawbach and Dowlelle. Here also it meeteth with the Dowlelle water, a pretie bwoke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to loke vpon, and thre miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebrie parke in Wiltre forrest, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Welwleie.

But to proceed. From Welwleie our Sauerne hasteth direalie to Ribford, Areleie and Keddon, and here it meeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Cle, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcesterthire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbidge (taking in there the third water per long running from Sturton castell) then to Knier Wittenon, Duerleie and Kidzminster, above which it crosseth one bwokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belbozow, betwixt which two waters lieth an oo pece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Keddon to Shrawleie; and above this towne receiueth the Asteie water, as beneath the same it doth another. From Willeie then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimleie taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwaie waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswyke, and runneth by Stoke priore, & Dootwiche, the other above Chaddeleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worcester,

in old time called Cair Frangon, or Cair Frangon, where it meeteth with the Liber, or Liberton water, on the right hand above that citie, and beneath it nere vnto Powyc with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I proceed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radno:thire, out of the Helenith hilles, and some after his issue, meeting with a water from Walthall, it runneth to Begeleie, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is five or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Wffa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that commeth from betwene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radno:thire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here following word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Bardfield riseth above Betw Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Wffa, and goeth by Buck Clun. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwene Lhan Mehan and Paiston, and going on by Budon, Clunecastell, Clundon, Wurlaw, and Clunbrie, it crosseth with a bwoke that runneth along by Kempston and Bampton. Thence going forth by Clunbrie, Brome, Abcot and Harlow, it meeteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Wmderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Dwoke, but I will not abide by it because I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Tripleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bromeleie, where it meeteth with the Dneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

The first of all is called the Wobw. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwene Hiffington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwyke, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Kottia chappell, and runneth by Adton and Wentnoz. After the confluence also going on by Choulton and Greines, it taketh in the Duerleie and Strabwoke both in one chanell, whereof the first riseth at Lebottom, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The second mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Peshall, Barton, and Alcaffer, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Duerleie, and so by Stratford into the Dneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the Wobw and Warren at Hardwyke, whereof I spake before. Finally, the Dneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Hawford chappell, Dneibrie, Bromeleie, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, meeteth with the Cozue, which commeth thorough Cozuedale from above Brocton by Porehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Lugford, and Bencost castell, goeth on to Cesham castell, and there crossing another from saint Margarets Clea, it hieeth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burford uniteth it selfe with the Ladwiche that commeth beneath Willburne Stoke, from betwaine Biotone, Clehill, and Stittertons hill, to Widdleton, Henleie, Ladwiche, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdbrie receiueth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rbe, that commeth from above Riton, Staterton, Wound, Pene, Clebrie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Asham,

Temde.

Clude.

Bardfield
Clun.

Dwoke.

Dneie.

Wobw.

warren.

Duerleie and
Strabwoke.

Somergill.

Cozue.

Ladwiche.

Rbe.

Langherne.

Asham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwyc and Badwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Isoburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collo-matherne, Credcleie, Aufrike, and so into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the said stream runneth to Braunford, and per long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Partleie, and passeth by Kengelwyc) it goeth to Potowic, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wickecester.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, untill I come to Potowic, wherof (as you may easily perceiue) the Temde is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this ouerriuer. Certes, from Potowic mile which are about halfe a mile beneath Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempleie and Cleueld, whence after it hath crossed a brooke comming from Cowleie, it hasteth first to Stoke, and so to Apton, which is eleven or twelue miles from Gloucester, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but per it come there, it doth openeth another fall descending from Paluerne hilles by Blackemoye parke, & sone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Paluerne hilles by little Paluerne and Melland, the other from Eldersford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Bushelleie, and Tewkesburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be described, before I proceed any further in my discourse of Sauerne.

Auon 4.

The Auon riseth at Pauesbie in the borders of Northamptonshire, a little side hand of Gillesthorow and sot of the hils whereon Pauesbie standeth, and euen out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lillburne, Clifton, and Kugbie, by north whereof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from about Kincote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colford. From thence also it goeth to Peterbold, Wollston, Kington, and betwene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from about Calendon to Whittleie, and sone after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which some do call Shyrborne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinnell, as I haue red from Kenellsworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbrie, Ashewold, Piluerston, Edmonds cote, and appace to Martwyc.

Swiethus.

Souus.

Kinnell.

Leame.

Stonke.

But per it come there, it meeteth from south east with two waters in one chanell, wherof the least commeth to Parton from Bishops Itchington, by Herbrurtrie and Thorpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Linc that descendeth from about Helladon, or nere vnto Castebie in Northamptonshire, and going by Quercote, Braunston, Lemington and Pertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Humington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Martwyc also the Auon taketh in a water running northwist from Groue parke. Whence it goeth on to Beresford, and there crossing another from Shyrburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, meeting finally with the third, from Kinefson that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it hasteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth about Cherington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head,

it goeth by Welford, and per long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Aston, & Todenham, it runneth to Barcheston, Alderston, Cliford, & so into the Auon.

From hence then the said Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Welford, and Cleue, and being parted from the said towne, per it come at Sabford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Worcesterthire, commeth by Aldchurch, Be-leie parke, Ppseie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Aline, out of Fecknam forrest, and going by Coughton parke, it hasteth to Alcester, Arow, Kagleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and so into Auon, which after this confluence goeth to Wiffenton & then to Couesholme: but per it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, wherof the first riseth about Wellerleie, the other nere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Wadseie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludo, brooke, before Pludo, it come to Couesholme.

Being past Couesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hils somewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Grettton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Luddington, or Woddington, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warrington, Sedgemoor, and receiuing there the last on the right hand also (as all aboue rehearsed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as some do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladburie wike, and almost at Wersore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Biddle, wherof one head is at Alberton, another at Biddle. From Wersore it goeth to Birlingham, and sone after carrying a brooke with all descending from Fakenham, by Wadleie, Wimbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Belleford and Delleford, it floweth to Cekington, Wedon, Twining, Pitton, and Tewkesburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Vincellus.

Biddle.

Now to resume the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Tewkesburie it goeth to Weresford, the How passage, and sone after receiuing the Chilttenham water that commeth thither by Bobenton, Sawton, and Porton, it runneth to Ashewold, Saintthirke, and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Gloucester, where it vniteth it selfe againe. But in the meane time the easterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, wherof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Wiltcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leaden that commeth vnto by Wylton, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leaden, Leaden court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Lainton by Rudford, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Gloucester.

Chilus.

Leaden.

The Sauerne therefore being past Gloucester, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmose, Spinstersworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth per it come at this latter the Strowd brooke, which rising not farre from Side, goeth by Passade, Edgetworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneswile Lodge, by Pittlescombe on the one side, and another from Wabbyslage on the other, it prosecuteth his volage to Stone house, Chilton, White Spilen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After

Strowd.

Stone house.

the fall of Strotw, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and some after receiving a water on each side, whereof one cometh from Alcie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it meet with another water on each side, whereof that on the English halfe is forhed, so that one head thereof is to be found about Wortwell, the other at Horton, and meeting about Dordwotzie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Perwarne, which cometh from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

Perwarne.

Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.

The Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie upon the coast of Southwaies, making my entrie at the ferrie over betwene Aust in Gloucestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chapel, in the mouth of the river Wlie, which ferrie is about three miles over (saith Leland) or else my memorie doth faile me. This river Guie or Wlie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing through Wencel and, that is, Southcast by Kaiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth) withall it goeth to Glasburie Hereford, Monmouth, and finally into the Sauerne sea at Cheprow: for so they call Monmouth, which leueth Wales from Summerstshire, Devonshire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third siller, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberst with, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

Leland writing of this river Guie or Wlie saith thus: The Wlie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Wcham, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Koffe, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this river be wibers, otherwile called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this river is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other rivers is abandoned and out of use; whereof we of the east parts do not a little marvell. But let us not state upon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and coming by Lhangerike, and Kaiadargoie, it receiveth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast coming by saint Harmon. Hence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Kaiader and Lhanuthell, it joineth with the Elland, whose head is nere to Comerstwith, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that divideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and lesse, having his course from south west & hille soile adjacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Dissart, where it receiveth the Athan, a river rising about Lhambifer, and from whence it runneth to Landwile, and Lambaderne wale: beneath which it crosseth a water on each side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Clue,

doth, after their confluence: the other hight Loma Lamarin, whose head is about Lanishangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, under the name of Athor, till it come to Dissart, taking in the Wawie on the left side per it come there, and then into the Wlie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiveth the Irwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles about Lanishangle Abergwessen, and thence coming downe by Lanurid Lang marth, Lanauan, Aechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being enlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Meuerie, whose head is about Lanauan more, weuerie the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that cometh from the hilles west of the head of Meuerie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dulasse from by south west, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more above the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwile, and there receiveth the Edwile on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles about Botins chapel, and cometh downe by Crigend and Lanbaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little above) taketh in the Machawie that cometh by castell Paine, and so going on in processe of time with the Leuennt, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

The Leuennt, otherwile called the Guer or Guerrie, is a faire streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuennt, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fish in Vnligneis or botes of one peere, as they do in Lhin Senathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finally, bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Pennith gader, and is increased with the Trufin) it falleth into the Wlie about Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelic fall of this brooke is named Aberleuennt, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a pretie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Felwes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little brooke, which cometh from Larnigon, it meeteth with the Dulesse that cometh also from the Atterill by Kerlop, and from thence goeth to Cliford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leaving Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course bene march). Then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Robertie, Monington, Wiford, Bridgesalers, Caton, Winton, and Hereford, without ante influence of river worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windleses, & there meeteth with a water rising thout of Moonesleis, which goeth by Daunsell, Lacie, Wzinsop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington; and some after into the Wlie, beside a little rill that runneth betwene them both even into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wlie halseth to Kotheras church, Hampton, and Hordford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Lute is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go any further with the course of the Wlie, wherein to it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples about Langunio: from whence it goeth to Pomonacht, Willeth Whitton, Fuldbrooke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betwene Bonie & Beton, or Bilton, it receiveth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march to

Wicmouth.

Guie alid
wle.Under a fish
one in the
wle.

Darnoll.

Elland.

Clardwen.

Athan.

Dulesse.
Chedoch.

to Kadno; forrest, directeth his streame betwene the new and old Kadnoys, to Knill, to Hail, and so into the Lug, which presentlie passeth by Kindham, Shireleie, Alimister, Kingland, Caton chappell, and so into Lemister, where it crosseth the Dneie (a streame let rising thort of Shobden, and going by Chozlester) a little before it come to the west side of the towne.

At Lemister it selfe in like sort thre waters do meet, and almost inuiron the towne, that is to saie, the Lug, the Dinsulleie or Dinsell (a riveret rising at Kingland two miles from Lemister) & the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemister, otherwise called Leofminster, of the builder, and also Leonminster, the Lug or Luic goeth on to Caton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and about Hope, whereof one head is betwene Hatfield and Wickleton, another nere unto Marston, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Hoxton, Sutton, Shelwyke, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it crosseth the Frome or Frome, a pretie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riseth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the southest by Edwinstoch to Bonpary, Auenburie, Bishops Frome, Castell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from about Bishops Crendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Parkeleie, Dornington, and Longward, and so into the Lug, betwene Longward and Sufson, which runneth southwist to Hordford, or Hordford, and there into the Wlie, vnto whose description I now returne againe.

Being come therefore vnto Hordford, it goeth to Fatonehope, Hamclacie, Ballingham, Capull regie, where it receiveth a water called Trefke, from little Berch by Trefke, Fatoleie, Holw, Capull Inkelton, Foie, Hampton, Widskole, Wiltton castell, the Kofte, and there a rill from Bishops Uptonward by Rudhall, Weresend, Ham, Clewston, Godderich, here in like sort meeting with another that commeth from Clefswall in the confines of Gloucestershire, by Deniard castell & Coughton, to Welch Bickno, English Bickno, Hunteham, including a parcell of Monmouthshire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordshire which butteth vpon Gloucestershire (as you shall find the like pece of Herefordshire in the confines of Salop and Worcester, wherein Rochford standeth, beside manie other which I haue elsewhere spoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainer water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaele church, and at Langarran crosseth the Carran broke, that riseth in Gregwood, thort of Arcop, six miles from Monmouth by northwist: after which these two do runne as one to Marston, and almost Whitchurch, and so into the Wlie, which goeth from thence to Sunnarew, S. Michaele, Dirton, and Monmouth, where I will staie a while, till I haue described the Pone, next of all to be remembred here.

The Pona or Ponbecke, riseth in the forrest of Hene, twentie miles from Monmouth by west in Ciriland, and going by Crefwell, or Crafwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeast of Watuill hills, which after it hath run a good distance from the head receiveth first the Ckile, and passeth by Lanibangle and the old Court, from northwest, then the Olcon, from southwest, which meeteth withall nere Cleddoll or Kinedoch, & passing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betwene Hereford and Monmouth shires, and taketh in a water comming by Erewin, & likewise the Hordwie or Hordwie which

riseth in Brecknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaele church in Monmouthshire, and ioineeth with our Pona at Altrinis, which after this confluence hasteth to Walderstone, Lanillo Langua, betwene which and Kinechurch it ioineeth with the Doure that riseth about the Bache about Dourston, which is six miles about Doure abbie, so that it runneth through the Elden dale, by Peterchurch, Folechurch, Porehampton, Helocourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Dulesse, from southwest and Lanibangle, by Harleswas castell on the one side, and perlong the Wormesbecke, descending from about Beuernall by Ddileie, Deueroi, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell vnto Pona, that riuer goeth on to Kinechurch, Grifmon, Cardwaie, Shenfrith, Marne-thall, Perthire, and so to Monmouth, where it meeteth with the Wlie, ouer each of which riuers Monmouth towne hath his particular bridge.

The Cuite or Wlie therefore being increased with thus manie brokes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trolle becke, whose head is about Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monmouthshire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanibangle, Grace, dien, Diggestow, Monastow, Troie, and so into Wlie, that runneth also by Wles wood chafe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from about Landelwie by Langowen, Lannissen, Penclase, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforesaid streame, the Wlie directeth his course from thence by Tinterne abbie (where it crosseth a rill from Trile grange) Chappell hill, Paracliche, Penterie chappell, Lancantie, Chepstowe, and so into the sea, leaving the Treacle (a chappell standing on a rocke) on the hand betwene it & Sauerne, ouer against the point that lieth south of Wettelie. Pert vnto the Wlie, I find a rill of no great course, comming downe from Pounton chappell, by a place of the bishops of Landasse. Hence passing by Charlton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riseth thort of Trogie castell, and runneth toward the sea, by Landuait, Detwston, Calicot, and so into the Ocean, ouer against the Charlton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from about Denho by saint Brides, north and by west of Dennie Island, which lieth midwaie betwene that fall & Doshot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I crosse another fall of a fresh broke, whose head is about Landuigo in Wence, wood, and course by Lhanbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, and through the Pore to Wiltton.

Pert vnto this is the Aberwist, or Wlike, in Latine Oeca, whereon Caerleon standeth, sometime called Chester and Ciuitas legionum, because the Romans sojourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who also held a noble parlement in the same, whereof Galfide maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in those daies the maiestie thereof was such, as that all the forefronts of their houses were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vsage. There was in the same in like sort a famous vniuersitie, wherein were 200 philosophers; also two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two British martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropolitall see in Britaine. But to our waite, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greatest in Southwaies, and huge ships might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Hestport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheless, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welch or twelue English miles from Chepstow

Dinsell.
Kenbroke.

Frome.

Loden alias
Luton.

Trefke.

Gainer.

Carran.

Pona.

Olcon.
Ckile.

Hordwie.

Doure.

Dulesse.

Wormesbecke

Trolle.

Elwie.

Trogie.

Dennie Island
lieth in the
middest of the
Sauerne, and
likewise an
other little one
called Wsue
rage.

Wlike.

Chepflow or Strigull, and of some thought to be in base Wencelond, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howsoever the matter standeth, this river is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshyre, as Kenni is middle to Wencelond & Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

Wiske. You shall understand that the Wiske or Wiske, in Latin Oica riseth in the blacke mounteins ten miles about Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pminidh Wy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betwene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the northeast, it cometh to Trecafile, and in the waie betwene it and Capell Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Deunocke, it crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth about Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberzaine, the Wane, or the Wemich, whose head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanhangle, it meeteth I saie with the Wiske, about master Aubyces manor. Beneath Aber Pifer, it receiue the Pifer, which riseth north-west about Party: Kinoch, and cometh by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanpithed and Pethon, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthe on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and coming downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanhangle and Landuilog, it meeteth with the Wiske or Brechnocke to the end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue bene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiue the Tertarish that riseth among the Wane hills, five miles from Brechnocke, and cometh likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Trenchwith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.

Kinuriche. After these confluences, the Wiske proceedeth on toward Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whose head is in the rots of Menuchennie hill, and passage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie castell, Lansanfreid, Landettie, Langonider, and some after receiuing the Wangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanhangle and Treoure) it passeth betwene Laugattocke and Cerighhowell, to Langrointie, and there about crosseth the Groinie brooke, that descendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Wiske is past this brooke, it taketh in three other short rills, from by south within a little distance, whereof the first hight Cledoch Maur, the second Fidan, and the third Cledoch behan. Of these also the last falleth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Wiske runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Rebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus chappell about the towne, and the Geuennie that descendeth from about Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Harlowe, beneath which it crosseth three namelesse rilles, on the right hand or south-west side before it come at Lanhangle upon Wiske, of whose courses I knowe not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the channell of sufficient greatnesse seuerallie to intreat of. Betwene Kemmeis and Trostre it meeteth with such an other rill that cometh downe by Bettus Pethwith. Thence it goeth to Coer Wiske or Wenzbigie (whose bridge, I mene that of Wiske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this river, in the six and twentieth yeare of King Henrie the eight, upon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but per it come there, it receiue the Birthin on the right hand,

Birthin. Coer Wiske standeth on one side of Wiske, and Caerleon on the other, but Coer Wiske by diuersie meates further into the land.

which is a pretie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is north-west of Quantiblot, as the other is of Lanhangle and Dentmozell.

Next unto this it ioineth with the Elwe about Lanbadocke, whose head is east of Denclase, and running westwards by Denclase, Landifen, Langolwen (and beneath Landelwie taking in a broket from Hagland castell, that cometh downe thither by Hagland parke) it bendeth south-west, untill it come at the Wiske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanholwell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Parthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the middlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue bene informed. From the mouth of the Komeneie to the mouth of the Tasse are two miles. Certes the Tasse is the greatest river in all Glamorganshire, called (by Prologie Rharostadhybius, as I gesse) and the citie Tasse it selfe of god countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth oft such logs and bodie of trees withall from the wooddie hills, that they do not seldome crush the bridge in peeces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, whereas if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshyre among the wooddie hills, from two heads, whereof one is in Honchdente, the other west of that mounteine, of which the first called Tasse baure, goeth by Capell Ian behan, Claino, and Gollais, the other by Capell Parthenie, and ioining at south-west beneath Gollais castle, they go to Party: Tiduill, and toward Lannaboz, but by the waie it taketh in from north-west a brooke called Cunnon, which cometh out of Brechnockshyre by Abarbare, and afterward the Rodneie coming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which runneth by Esfridnoch, a crooked brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie baure, & Rodneie behan, that bring ioined with the Tasse, doth run on withall to Eglefilian, castle Coch, Whit church, Landasse, Cardiffe, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Laie doth bid him welcome unto his channell or streame. Furthermore, from Parthenie it passeth to Kemmeis, and per it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first cometh downe from the north betwene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Ian Penoch, with out anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hills that seme to part Monemouth and Brechnock shires in sunder, and after a rill receiued from Blozench hill on the north-side of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Pethwith and Triuethin, it receiue a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in procelle of time another little one from the same side, per it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanhangle, from whence it goeth to Cuennocke and Denrofe, & so in Wiske before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hills about foure miles about Landgwiaie and Langweth, doth make an Island about Caerleon, where Denrofe standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other seemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of such water as otherwise would oft annoie the same.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maister

Ebowith.

Scrowle.

Romeneie.

Laie.

Duncalais.
Dyethcoid.
Bedware.

Lais.

Chawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

maister Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another broke withall, that riseth north of Tomberlow hill, and descendeth by Penlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch castle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after thre or foure miles course to the sea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the same almost in the verie mouth or fall, and riseth in the edge of Brecknoch shire, or (as Leland saith) high Winceland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Aehan, the other Eberith Patw, as I haue bene informed. The course of the first head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they passe together by Lanhyleth, and coming by west of Tomberlow hill (crossing a rill, from north east by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Scrowle, that runneth by Tre-
strent, & is of lesse race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that same quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Killeic, Rochester castell, next of all thorough a park, and so by Grenefield castell, and is not long yet it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doe find in the countie, which beareth the name of Ponemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

The Romeneie or (as some corruptlie call it) the Ponneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwene Ponemouth & Glamorgan shires. The head hereof is about Egglins Lide vnder Hoell otherwise called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie springs, & taking one bottom, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiveth no water on the east side, but on the west diuerse small beakes, whereof thre (and one of them called Fira) are betwene the rising and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cometh in by Capell Gledis, and Bethligaire, the fift from betwene the Faldzale and Llanuabor, the sixt & seventh before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer against Bedwas it selfe from chappell Martin, Cairillie castell, and Chawan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Beuen, Pableie and Romeneie, & per long crossing a becke at north west that cometh from about Llanuau, Llanissen and Koch, it falleth into the sea, about six miles from the Milse, and albeit the mouth thereof be nothing profitable for ships, yet is it also a march betwene the Silures and Glamorgan shire.

The Laie falleth into the sea a mile almost from the Tasse, and riseth in the hilles about Lantreiffent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence coming by Lantreiffent and Auercastell, it runneth by Coit Marchan park, Lambedder, S. Wydes, Llan-nihangle, saint Jagans and Claie, Leckwith, Llandowgh, Cogampill, and so into the sea, without anie maner increase by anie rills at all sauing the Duncalais, which riseth foure miles from his fall, east north east, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Aelin Mawr, and likewise by west, the Dyethcoid that cometh from Clinne Rodeneie, and therein to the Bedware dischargeth that small water gathered in his chanell. Here will I staie a little and breake off into a discourse, which Leland left also as parcell of this coast who toucheth it after this maner.

From Tasse to Laie mouth or Cle ruer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that standeth on the west point of it) to the mouth of Chawan ruer (from whence is a common passage ouer vnto Pincheued in Summerfethshire of 17 miles) are about seuen Welch miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe about Chawan is Scilleie haunet (a petie succour for ships) whose head is in Menno paroch two miles and a halfe from the thore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Bar-

rie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of fresh water into Saucerne, whose head is scant a mile off in plaine ground by northeast, and right against the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Island a slight thot from the thore at the full sea. Halfe a mile about Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riseth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Saucerne, and serueth off for harbour vnto sea-farers. Whence to the mouth of Chawan are thre miles, wherevnto ships may come at will.

Two miles about Chawan is Colhow, whither a little rill resorteth from Lau Ituit, thence to the mouth of Aen foure miles, that is a mile to saint Dinowes castell, and thre miles further. The Aen riseth by northeast vnto the land at a place called Ales Holmuth, or Skirpton, about foure miles above the plot where it cometh by it selfe into Saucerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur alias Gur thre miles. Then come they in pcesse of time vnto the Kenlike or Colbroke ruer, which is no great thing, sith it riseth not about thre miles from the thore. From Kenlike to Aber Auon two miles, and Auon herein do ships molested with weather oftentimes seeke harbourough. It cometh of two armes, whereof that which lieth northeast is called Auon Mawr, the other that lieth northwest Auon Aehan. They meet together at Lhanuoie Pengle, about two miles above Aber Auon village, which is two miles also from the sea.

From hence to the Peth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come Wyplets almost to the towne of Peth from the Saucerne. From the mouth of Peth vnto the mouth of Crimine becke is two miles, and being passed the same we come vnto the Taute, which descendeth from the aforesaid hilles and falleth into the sea by east of Swanfeie. Being past this we come vnto the Lichow, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we passed to the Wlan-dremouth, whereof I find this description following in Leland. Both Wlendraith Mawr and Wlendraith Aehan rise in a peece of Carmardineshire, called Afehenen, that is to saie, the low quarter about Kennen ruer, and betwixt the heads of these two hils is another hill, wherein be stones of a greenish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Wlendraith Mawr riseth in, is called Pennith Mawr, and therein is a pole as in a moorish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall spring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles from Kidwellie: the hill that Wlendraith Aehan springeth out of, is called Pennith Aehan, and this water cometh by Kidwellie towne.

But about thre or foure miles yet it come thither, it receiveth a broke called Trelgirth, the course whereof is little above a mile from the place where it goeth into Wlendraith, and yet it hath foure or fve tucking milles and thre corne milles vpon it. At the head of this broke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the broke it selfe, it is one of the most plentiful and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the sides also of Wlendraith Mawr, you shall find great plentie of sea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Wlendraith Aehan, where men vse to enter into vaults of great compasse, and it is said, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Caikemen castell, which is thre miles or more into the land. But how true these things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hauking at the Veron in Wlendraith Aehan. There are diuerse prints of the passage of certeine worms also in the caue, at the head of Wlendraith Aehan, as the inhabitants do saie: but I neuer heard of anie

This Ile
went fiftie
yeares agoe
for x. pounds.

Come kidie

Ogur.

Kenlike.

Auon.

Peth.

Taute.

Lochar.
wandres.Wlendraith
Mawr, Wlen-
draith Aehan.

D. J. man

Laie.

man that sawe anie wo:me there, and yet it is belaeued that manie wo:mes are there. Whitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine olde course.

Barrie.

Leaving the Laie, which some call Claie, and passing the Penmarth baie, that lieth betwene the Penmarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie haven before described) and came unto the Barrie, whose head is aboute Crinifon castell, and from thence he runneth by Deinspewis, Cadorton, Barrie, and so into the sea.

Aberthaw.

Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or thre miles aboute Lamsanoz, and going by Welch Hewton, it cometh at length to Colwbridge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beampere, Flinston, Gilston, and betwene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But per it come all there it receiveth a brooke called Kenfan, or Harrikan, or Kenfeth, on the east side, whose head is east of Wolskon, & comming by Charnelhold, Lhancaruan, & Lancable, it falleth into the former above either of the Thabwans. Leland saith, that Kenfan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Bzane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seauen miles before it meet with the other. Leaving this water we sailed on, casting about the path point, omitting two or thre small waters (whereof Leland hath alreadye as ye see made mention) because I haue nothing more to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Altruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Dgur.

The Dgur or Gur, which some call the Dgmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much more westlerlie, and running a long course per it come to anie billage, it goeth at the length beneath Langutnewere or Langonodoch, to S. Wildes vpon Dgur, then to Hewcastell, and Parthermaure, beneath which it meeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Dgur or Dgmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth fise or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill per long from north east, and the confluence passeth forth by Coitchurch, Dgur castell, & so into the Dgur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Dgur saith thus. Into the Dgur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboute Lamsanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of Clin Cozug, at north west, and then running two miles lower, briteth it selfe with the Cozug brooke, a little short thing, and wo:thie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further per it meete with the Dgur on the west side, at Lamsanfride, two miles aboute Penbowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Kenfig.

Margan. Auon.

Next vnto the Dgur is the Kenfig water, that cometh downe by the Dile and Kenfig castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where fir Edward Hanrell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them cometh downe by Hauodaport chappell, the other by Clin Cozug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, preiding also in time of need a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Peth. The Peth is a faire water, rising of diuers heads, whereof the more easterlie named Pethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penodozin to

Peth.

Pethuehan.

Aberpirtwin, it receiveth Pethuaur, a little aboute the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Lauie in Brecknochshire (as all the rest do) receiveth the Trangarth, the Speltaie and the Hephais, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile or more before it ioine with Pethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Pethuaur, so the Spelta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioine with the same aboute Istrad wealshie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hephais. So that albeit their severall risings be half or a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirtwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamo:rganshire, which they directlie do crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the wooddie soles, till it meet with Cle:daugh, which ioine with the same beneath the Kesonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisfed, where it taketh in the Dulesse, whose head is aboute Chappell Dulesse, Breanaunt, in the marches of Brecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cadon towne, or betwene it and Lannisfride, then to Peth towne, whither small bevels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cle:doch that runneth by Belebsbild (and also Peth abete where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke forrest, Pethwood, Briton ferrie, and so into the sea.

Pethuaur.
Trangarth,
Speltaie,
Hephais.

The Lauie riseth in the thickest of the blacke Canie, mounteines in Brecknochshire west of Pethuaur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiveth on the east banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus united, the chanell passeth forth by Istradgunles, and then meeting with the Turch or Torch water that cometh from the foot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinthire, it runneth to Langoge, Lamsamled, saint Johns, Swanfeie, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth thre or foure miles per it come into Swanfeie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimaline becke, whose description I neither haue, nor find anie great want therof. Wherefore going about by Disfemont castell, and Gambles point, we passe forth toward the south west by Penmarth point, till we come to Iliston water, whose head is not farre within the land, and yet as it cometh thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmarth castell, a rill or two doth fall into the same. Then casting about by Drwiche point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (having passed the Wozmelead and S. Kennets chappell) and then north east by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Loghor, or as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichw, whose indraught for a certene space is march betwene Caermardine and Glamo:rgan shires. It riseth aboute Gwentwio chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboute Bettus receiveth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from north east. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelars bridge, and ouer against Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwillie by west of Parkreame, and afterward the Hozlais aboute Langnarch on the same side. Then comming to Loghor castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not above fise miles, and thence losing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraic, as some gesse, untill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side of Bachannie Island, a small thing, and not wo:thie (for anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboute Penacrois, it passeth by

Canie,
Coiell,
Torch.

Iliston.

Lochar.

Amond.

Combwillie.
Hozlais.

Lhu.

Burraic.

Dullese.

Wandze.

Towie.

Trausmant.

Tothe.

Pescotter.

Bzane.
Gutherye.

Dullese.
Mozlais.

Mozelwe.

Cledoch.

Sabtheie.

Dullese. 2.

Dullese. 3.

by Lhaneltheie, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dullese a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinfaren: thence by the Pembaie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandzes or Wendzaitz mouth, whose description is partlie touched already; but because it is not such as I would wish it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendzaitz or Wendzaitz baur riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Kenneth Taur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, cometh at the last to Clin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Wendzaitz Tahan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Wendzaitz Taur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the southwest, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langel, Withon, Leighdenie, Lidwillie, and so into the sea, about one mile from the fall of Wendzaitz Taur.

The Towie riseth in the mounteines of Glen, with foure miles by southeast from Lintue, and two from Lingonon, in a moorish ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forrest called Bishops forrest, midwaie betwixt Landowbzenie & Landanuerie castell. For first, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Tasse, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne by their bellies, floate aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Brechnoch from Cardigonshire also for a certaine season, till it come by the water of Trausmant, that falleth therinto from by east out of the confines of Brechnoch, vnto Dylin capell, and so to Yfrodofine, where it meeteth with the Tothe that cometh thither from Lhinuerwin where it riseth, and so through Kescot forrest, uniting it selfe by the waie with the Pescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothe, and both come togither beneath Yfrodofine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it cometh to Lhanuaitz Abweie, Lanhowell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanel, whereof the first is called Bzane, the other Gutherye (which lieth more southerlie of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landanuerie, which runneth on till it meet with the first Dullese that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Mozlais, and these on the north-west. Certes the Bzane is a pretie brooke rising two or three miles about Capell Delwith, and descending by Lanbzeane and Yftradwalter, it meeteth (I saie) with the Gutherye, whose head is west of Yftradcastell in Brechnochshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanimphrie and a rill that meeteth with the same, descending from north-west of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuers waters in one chanel, of which the greatest is called Mozdelwe, and thereof I haue this description.

The Mozdelwe, or (as some pronounce it) Mozleue, riseth of two heads, which ioining about Lanhangle, the streame runneth on till it meet with the Cledoch on the left hand, proceeding also further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sabtheie, whose two heads descend from the blacke mounteines or east edge of Caermardine shire (as mine information leaue me.) After this confluence the second Dullese doth meet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles about Talhogae abbeie, north-west from Langadocke full five miles: then coming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinesar castell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Dullese from by north that cometh in by La-

nihangle and Dillan castell, and after that the Co, Corthie, thie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not betterlie to be passed ouer.

Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbzeue, vnder the hulke of Blaine Tcoine, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pinent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from Tarche, about Lanacrotes: thence it goeth to Lamsawell, Abergolech, Breghuangothie, Lannigod, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Kanelthie from by north, then the Kanelthie. Gwille from north-west, whose head is about Lanie Gwille. Pinent, and race by Canwell, Cluert, Comeville, and Herling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwille, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanstephan, S. Imacels, and so into the sea.

Next vnto the Towie is the Taw, whose head is Tana. in the blacke mounteines, as at the rots of Wrenni baur hill in Pembroke shire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurach, Langludien, Lannalteg, and taking in the Dudderie from south-west, out of the Dudderie same countie by Lanberduellstraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Marlais by north that runneth by Lanberdie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Wenni, as I take it, that cometh through Cardish Wennie forrest on the one side, and the Caire on the other Caire. that runneth into it west of Landowzor, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, or Carthkinnie. Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Gow. Tow both in one chanel, of which the first riseth about Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Bilsant, and Langinnin, the other is such out of the ground about Trologh Bettus, by Yfrodun, & ioining with the former a little about S. Clares, they run into the Taw, and from thence to Lanhangle, and betwene it and Abercolwen, admitteth finally the Gowen or Gow streame, which Gowen. coming likewise from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & so into the Taw, who directeth his course by Lancharne castell, and then into the sea.

The next water that we come to is the Gwaist, Gwaist. which is but a small thing rising about Lanberdie Melstraie, and going from thence by east of castell Herbie hill, Crumuer and Argwaire, it is not long per it fall into the sea, and so we leaue Caerdyffshire, and go ouer into Penbroke. Then passed we by an other coming out of Kathe forrest called Coit Kathe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leauing the Ponkeston rocke, we came to Tenbis or Dimbechie Wiscod, and passing into the port betwene the castell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it serued with two little backe waters, of Brechnoch. so small countenance, that they are not worthe of anie further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one seemeth to be called Florence brooke, the other Fresko, Sunfreston standing betwene them both, whereby their sight cannot perish. After this we passed betwene Londie and an other flet or rocke From Londie to Cardis lieng by north-west of the same, to Ludlop point, & so thirtie miles. to Abertrewent, where I found a little fresh water named Trewend that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauch, till we came to S. Gtowans point. Then gathering west and by north before we came at Shepe Island, we found another fresh water, that riseth short of Irtiog Paharen, and running south of Aggarston, Windmill hill, or betwene it and Castell Porton and Cupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Being passed this water, we cast about toward the north-west, by the Doytons and Pennar, till we came
D. H.

The description of Britaine.

came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in marer inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt creekes on both sides of the haven, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one channell, above whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a mere salt course) incloseth thre parts of Carew castell. The other rising nere to Coit Kathy forrest is a fresh, & going by Cefraiston, Creswell & Lalwenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the haven after confluence with the former.

Dugledu.
Culticell.

Now come I to the two swords, or haven of Spilford, whereinto two riuers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwene them both is a rill which they call also Culticell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peradventure not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, because he came so lone to his house per anie of his maids were by: Wh god hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betwene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betwene these two riuers, and his breast towards the south nere to the head of Culticell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuier called Swilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certaine report: wherefore it is requisite that I proceed according to my purpose.

Swilie.

Clotheie.

The one of these swords is called Clotheie or Clothe, of which I find this short and briefe description. The Clotheie riseth at the foot of Mrennie baure hill and comming downe to Spnachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by north-west before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which cometh from above the moze by Clarbasson and Bletherton, his head arising in the hill west of Spnachlodge, as Leland doth informe me. Per long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Parbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunafton, Slebach, Piton castell, Siffer houses, Spintware & Sparthellwre, at Kise castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue bene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somewhere at north-west, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrofe at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford west, and there uniteth it selfe with a water, which peradventure is the same that Leland called Swilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chapel and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Hereford west, but in Welch Hulford; as Lhoid doth set it downe. Beneath Hereford it taketh in another water from south-west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chapel, and entrance betwene Harraldston and Hereford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the succellour of Edward the confessor as some call him, who was a greuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elswhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the frefe fro frefethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making half vnto Culticell, & omitting two rills betwene it and the Clotheie on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Culticell cometh into the Dugledie beneath Bolkton, with a streight course from by north, of thre or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bolkton, after whose vntion

with the aforesaid water they run on as one till they meet with the Clotheie, casting out by the waie sundrie salt creekes, as the maine channell doth from thence south vntill it passe the Sandie haven, the Dale rode (whither a fflie fresh rill cometh of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Having thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Spilford haven, we cast about by the Blockehoufe and S. Annes chapel to 10 Gatholme Ile, that lieth betwene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie ouer against Stocke, holme Island that is situate further off into the sea, toward the south-west, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elswhere described. Betwene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gatholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Pardland stone, the other Spelstone, it shall not be greatlie requisite to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Islands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Wydes Ile, which is south-west of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you saile thither on the south side, you must needs passe by the Spelstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Pardland stone on your left hand, wherto if you note well the situation of these Islands 30 already named, and confer them with the Kamfeie and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Wydbate, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finally, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at lest wise to see what Islands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Wydes Ile, 40 land, a verie little place and situate nere the land, before I came at Calthrop rode. From thence we went about by the little haven, Doluach haven, Carnaie haven, Shirelace rocke, Carnboddie, and Carnate baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betwene Kamfeie and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annexed to the maine: but in the midst thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the hollie (a mile and moze by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Kamfeie) and moze in 50 fortunate than ten of Helens colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Hence passing by S. Stephanis, and Whitesand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Offipianum promontorium*, except I be deceived. But here gentle reader giue me leave to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peradventure haue vsed, his words are these: Being therefore past this haven and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. 60 Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Offipianum promontorium*, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this manner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little creekes betwixt Petwale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are here mentioned out of a register of that house.

As we turne therefore from Spilford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Petwale, a creeke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Spilford. From hence about

Gatholme
Ile.
Stockholme
Ile.

Midland Ile,
Gresholme.

S. Wydes
Ile.

A sort of dangerous rocks
lieng on a row
vpon the west
end of South-
daies called
the Bishop &
his clerks.

S. Dewie
or Dauid all
one.

Saluach. bout foure miles is Saluach cræke, otherwile called Sauerach, whither some fresh water reforteth: the mouth also thereof is a good rescue for balingers, as it I meane the register saith. Thence go we to Portelais thre miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that cometh through saint Delwies close doth run. It lieth a mile south west from S. Delwies, saint Stinans Chappell also is betwene Portelais, and Portmalw. The next is Port Paw, where I found a great estuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: A hand Achan is thre miles from Pendwie, where is a salt cræke, then to Tredine thre miles, where is another cræke to Langunda, foure miles, and another cræke is there in like sort where fishermen catch herrings. Here also the Suerne river diuideth Penbidianc from Fitcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fitchard at the Suerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or haueuet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Besides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but for asmuch as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhinnes, I passe them ouer as hasting to Telfie, in Latine Tibius, and after Prolomie Tuerobius or Tiurobius, which is the next river that serueth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Suerne, for after we came from saint Dauids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till we came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad haueu, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence north east, and by north, to Anglas head, then flat south by the Coto and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwin or Fitchard, where we found a fresh water named Guin, or Suerne, whose course is in maner directie out of the east into the west, from Wrenie hils by Pont Haunt and Lanichair, untill it come within a mile of the foresaid towne. It riseth flat north of the Perselie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Laurelliboch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Puerne, where Pletport standeth. The head of this river is about Capell Pantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yet it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Wrenie baure, and thence go south as one untill they come to Pletport. Cardigan haueu is the next fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a little Island ouer against the north point. Hereinto also cometh the Telfie, a noble river which riseth in Lintine, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not else where in all the riners of Britaine, is the Calloz or Wenner to be found. But to proceed. The verie head thereof (I saie) is foure miles about Straddore in Lintine, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiveth a brooke from southeast that cometh out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Straddore abbey, beneath which it mætheth with the Stricke water (that riseth about Stradmirich) and some after with the Landurch (both from the north west) and finally the Wrenich about Tregaron, that cometh in by the east, as Leland hath set downe.

Here to Landwiche also it crosseth the Wrenich by east north east, and then goeth to Landuair, Cleddogh, Kellan, and some after taking in the Patherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas above Landbedder (which riseth about Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the north west, it goeth next of all to Landbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it crosseth the Grauelch, thence to

Wrenich. **Patherne.** **Dulas.** **Grauelch.**

Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lantonie, Lanthangle, and Sandisell, and there it uniteth it selfe with the Clethoz or Dettos, which cometh downe thither by Lantislued chappell, Lanfraine, and finally Landisell from by north, as I doe here affirme. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuaic, Alloine, Bangor, Langelor, Landeureog and Newcastell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethoz, and whose course is somewhat enlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Kentwith two becks in one chanell do fall into it, which be namelesse, and but of a little length.

Beneath Tredwaire also it crosseth another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Cuan, and finally meeting with the Telfie, they run as one by Kennarth (still parting Cardigan shire from Carmardine, as it hath done sith it met with the Patherne) and so forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which rising southeast above chappell Cuan, doth part Carmardine and Brechnocke shire in sunder, till it come unto the Telfie. From this confluence, and being still a limit unto Cardigan shire, it goeth by Parierdine, and so to Cardigan, taking in one rill from by north descending by Penneralt, by north of Monardine or Parierdine, and two other from by south west, of which the one cometh in beneath Kilgarron castell, the other from Lantwood north west of Dscoid Portemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betwene S. Dogmaile, & Langodimere, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his upst, and sending us forth from Denbroke into Cardigan shire, whereunto it hath become marcher sithence it came from Kellan, or confluence with the Patherne.

Being come into Cardigan shire, and having passed the Cardigan point, an Island of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came unto the fall of Airon thre miles beneath Lanclere, it riseth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Peni-all belonging to Landwiche byenue about thre or foure miles from Tive banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoodie, Langitho, Tregiragon hill, Treulian, Talasferne, and some after taking in a rill from by south from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Astrade, Kilkennen, Lancharin, and finally into the sea, crossing by the waie the Bidder brooke, which coming from Debetwede, doth fall into the same, betwene Lancharin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of a nie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth thre or foure miles or more within the land slope wise, and coming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, north east of Aberarth.

Being past the Arth, & having staid there a while because we found some harborongh, we came next of all unto the Wreie, which riseth of two heads, above whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lanibangle, Redzod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Larised, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Pittwith, which riseth in the blacke mounteins about Comerstwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, untill it come unto Spittie, Pittwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Pachairne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Heleuen, then the Kidall or Reddhol not farre from the shore, whereof I haue this description. The Kidall riseth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Kidall, from whence going toward Spittie Kintwen, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneath it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Landeder baure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Pittwith, and so into the Ocean. Having thus viewed the Pittwith, and taken

Salique.

our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salike of Salique byoke, whereof I find this memoꝛiall.

Masalique.

Lerie.

The Salique byoke descends in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ammabour, toward Cogarth, or Cogirhar, it receiue the Masalique, and from thence goeth into the sea, south west from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indaught of no great quantitie, neither com- modious as I gesse (yet I may be deceived) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanhangle, castell Swalter, it runneth from thence north east in- to the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by north east of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

wie.

Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerbigan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betwene it and Perioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat by to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will doe in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is pos- sible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie, and goeth on south right to Lammoth- wie, by Powdyh wie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Pathew, it receiue two rilles from north west, and the third comming by Mallrold called Cludoch from north east, & so holdeth on cross- ing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Pongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, be- neath which water it taketh in the Colwin that pas- seth by Lambryn malw from Talgarth, and then go- eth to Mathpauerue, crossing another from by north and so forth to Lanwozing, where it meeteth with the herig on the one side, and the Cloddall which com- meth from Dorowen on the other.

B. mis.

After this, our maine river goeth by Pen- gos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from south east, called the Dulas, and another from the north west. From thence it halleth on to Pa- genillet, or Pacheniet, first crossing the Leuennie from south east, secondlie the Peniall from north west, thirdlie the Cinon, fourthlie the Binar, fifthlie the Cleidor, these thre last rehearsed falling into it from south east, & the last hauing his course by Lan- gwirhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or Bri- tish Dist or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth seeme to fetch his sound. But to proceed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore north westward, we come to a fall fro the north called Colwen Perioneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie river rising in the hilles about Lanhangle, and west of castell Traherne receiue the Kidwic, which commeth from Chadidwic hill, by Tallilin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from south east, fetching his course by Lanegryn, and so into the sea within fise miles thereof.

Being past this we bid cast about by the Sarna- high point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthe to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Poth or Derte, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this river descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dê hath his issue, and betwene which the Karan baure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the joining of the two heads of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiue a rill from north east called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so hol-

deth on towards the south betwene Lanitid and Kemmoz abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dol- gelth with the Anon baure, which comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwan- nas, halleth north westward (by Dolgelth) to ioin with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Aes- silgun, then the Virgun, & after a course of foure to fise miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Cozlogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro about Lambader, both fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the river Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, moun- teins no lesse fertile for grasse, wood, cattell, fish and soule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, where- of all the writers doe make so honorabie report. From hence we sailed by Abermalw or mouth of Mathw, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse rivers with him whose names I doe not know. Then vnto the Artro a byoke, whose head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiue the Cedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a fetw windleses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith behan, which is the fall of the Dyruid, a pretie river comming from the marches of Caernarvon- shire, which passing by Ffestimog, sone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Welenrid, and so holdeth on to Dechoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, bicause their quantitie is not great. Pert vnto this we haue Traith malw, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a river proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwozthen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betwene Perioneth and Caernarvon shires. From Traith malw we passe by the Breith, and come to another water descend- ing from the north by Lanidwie, and after that to the Poie, whose mouthes are so nere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth seeme to keepe them in sunder.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie byoke descending from Pbadryn hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe doe seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses doe come a- long from the west and north west; the most souther- lie being called Gitch, and the other the Hellie: ex- cept my memoꝛie doe faile me. Then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Aber- soch or mouth of the Soch river vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Islands, of which the moze northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penryn: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the lan- guage) is so hard to me, that I chose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denomi- nations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen doe giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron river, whereupon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shoꝛe betwixt Aberdaron and Wor- gerns

Ho.

Mathw.

Farle.

Erke.

Soch.

Daron.

germes bale, where the compasse of the sea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Ebarne becke, a mile and more south of Jpetwin. And ten or twelve miles from hence is the Wennie brooke, whose course is little above so manie miles; and not farre from it is the Lluan, a farre lesse water, comming also from the east: and next unto that another, wherinto the Willie by south and the Carrog by north after their coniunction do make their common influence. Having passed this river, we cast about toward the north east, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the streits of streame called Penae, betweene Angleseie and the maine, meeting first of all with the Gonaie, which cometh from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and passeth by Lanunda into the sea: Penae streame at South crocke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which cometh from L in Lanberie, passeth by Lanthangle, and so falleth into the Penae at Abersaint, which is on the south west side of Carnarvon: on the other side also of the said towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it standeth betweene two rivers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Mueg.

Then come we (saith Leland) to Gwintwith mirth (or Hozie brooke) two miles from Poilethon, and it riseth at a Well so called full a mile from thence. Poilethon is a bove shot from Aberpoule, from whence ferrie botes go to the Ternone or Angleseie. Aberpoule runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head four miles beyond Bangor in Penae thore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Penae. Aber Gegeine cometh out of a mountaine a mile above, and Bangor (the rough which a rill called Torromen hath his course) almost a mile above it. Aber Ogwine is two miles above that; it riseth at Tale linne, Ogwine pole, five miles above Bangor, in the east side of the thort. Aber Auon is two miles above Aberogwine, and it riseth in a pole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon lan var Uchan riseth in a mountaine therby, and goeth into the sea, two miles above Driegueth. Auon Driegueth is three miles above Conweie, which rising in the mountains a mile off, goeth by it selfe into Penae salt arme. On the said thore also lieth Conweie, and this river doth run betwixt Penmaine Mair, and Penmaine Uchan. It riseth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about fiftie miles from Conweie abbey, now dissolved out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and west of this river standeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

This river (which Ptolomie calleth Toesobius, as I take it) after the derivation thereof from the head, passeth on the west side by Spittieuan and Therto, beneath which it taketh in a streame comming from the east out of Denbighshire, derived from three heads, and of the greatest called Pag. Some after also another, and then the third, which cometh in from the west by Lanpen Haw: next of all the Leder on the same side, which cometh by Dolathelan castell: and above that from a Lin of the same denomination. Beneath this and selfe hand lieth likewise the Ligoth or Ligoie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Pumber and the Ligoth. On the right hand as we still descend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be past another on the right side, we come to the Perloid, which cometh out of Lin Cowlio, to the Pgan, to the Idalin, to the castell Water on the left, & then to the Delandor on the right, without the sight of any other, till we come almost to Conweie, where we find a notched streame comming from by west, and called Guffen or Guffin

into the same by one chancell on the northeast side of the towne, beneath Guffin or Guffin, and over against Llanfrantraid in Denbighshire; so farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnarvonshire stretcheth also beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Dymethed point, wherein also is a rill, whose fall into the sea is betweene Penrin and Landright. And thus we have made an end of the chiefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we do as it were step over into Flintshire, and whose first water is not great, yet it cometh from south west, and falleth into the north or Irish sea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the next that cometh south from Bettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onlie called Gele (as the name it selfe importeth) but also noted to take his course through the Canges. Having thus gone over the angle of Denbighshire, that lieth betweene those of Carnarvon and Flint, we come next of all unto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Clota, which is a streame not to be shortly intreated of. It riseth among certaine hilles, which lie not far distant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighshires. Southeast from his fall, and having run four or five miles from the head, it cometh about to Dartwen, taking in the Haniton on the left hand, and the Apelin on the right: and some after the third from by west, whose head is not farre from Cloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen also it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and so holdeth on till it meet with the Clue doth, then with the Yfrade, which passeth by Whit church on the left hand. After which we come to the Whaler on the right, and so to his joining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Asaphes, a bishops see that is intrenched with them both. This Elwie riseth above Gwitherne, & beneath Lanauir taketh in the Alode, which cometh from Lin Alode, by Lannannan, and joineth with him five miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence passeth on to the sea by Rutland castell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which cometh from by east, and hath a course almost of sixtene miles. From hence we take sea toward the De mouth: and as we passed by the rest of the thore, we saw the fall of a little brooke nere Basing Werke, of another nere to Flint, of the third at Powleie castell, which with his two armes in manner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hewarden hold, which in like sort goeth round about the same, & from whence we came to the De, where we landed and toke up our lodging in Cheller. In this place also it was no hard matter to deliuer & set downe the names of such rivers and streames as are also to be found in Angleseie, finding my selfe to have some leasure and fit opportunitie for the same: and imagining a journeie thither also, as unto the other places mentioned in this description, whither as yet it hath not bene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amisse to take it also in hand, and perforce it after this maner.

Ferrieng therefore over out of Carnarvonshire to Beaumarke, I went by land without crossing of any river or streame worthe memorie, till I came to the Biant, which hath his fall not farre from the south west point of that land. This Biant riseth farre by in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his course southward to Lanthoniell Waall, it goeth on to Bodowenuch, Llangainwen, and so into the sea.

The next fall we came unto was called Maltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two rivers,

the Ceuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langrestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head nere to Denmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hillie soile about Tregaton and Langwithlog: so that part of the Iland obtaineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Pert vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is nere to Langitwen, and passage by Cap Paer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aberfraw, and so into the sea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or thre miles about Haneglosse: and passing from thence to Treualghmaic, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan feruic, and falleth into the sea southeast of the little Iland, which is called Pnis Wicall. It is namelesse also as the other was, and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt creeke by a bidge into Cair Ribie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in some respect not unworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north side therefore of Cair Ribie is a little rill or creeke: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I do not remember.

This place being biewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bidge, into the maine of Angleseie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuers, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the streame. The name of the most northerlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogether namelesse for ought that I can learne, therefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we buttied vpon the fall of a certaine confluence growing by the ioining of the pathanon and the Oger, which meet beneath and nere to the Langedell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Villarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse, and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finally southward, till we came to Langurdap, from whence vnto Beaumarie (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembered. And thence I go forward with the description of the Dee.

Dee or Deu. The Dee or Deu (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, breeder of the best trout, whose head is in Perioneth shire, about thre miles about the lake, situate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Egnis, whose streame yet verie small, by reason of the shortnesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters that come also into the said lake, which is foure or five miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie fur longs from the Dee: another hath his issue into the same by Langoluer: the third on the north side of Lanullin, named Lete: the fourth at Glanintegid called the Fauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie streame, and not a little augmented by the Helme and Monach which fall by north into the same, and ioine with the Dee south of Lanuair; from whence forth it loseth the name, and is afterward called Dee. East of Bala in like sort it receiue the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Allwen and the Giron, of which this

riseth in the hills about Langham, the other in the mounteins about five or six miles by northwest of Lanhangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and afterward rising againe betwene Lanhangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioine with the Giron, full six miles about Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lananfraid, and the marches of Perioneth into Denbighshire, and so to 10 Langellon, Dinas, Wren, &c: keeping his course by certeine windleses, till he receiue the Gristoneth, Gristoneth, descending by Knabon, then another est of the same; the third, from by west called Kerlog (whose head is Kerlog, not farre from the bounds of Perioneth) and course by Lanarmon, Lananfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from south east out of Shrophshire, called Shojlais, and so passeth as bounds betwene Denbighshire, and the outliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Bistocke on the one side and Bangor on the other, till it come to 20 Wrothenburie: whereabout it receiue a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one cometh by Penlie chapell, the second from Hammere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betwene Chad and Worsall. These two later meeting about nether Wurtwich, do hold on to Talerne, as mine information instructeth me.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northwest 30 wards toward Shochlige, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch) originall mother to those trouts for which the Dee is commended, and descendeth from Capell Spinglath) and the Gwinrogy, that runneth through Wrexham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrexham, not far from Pantwerne. Some after also our maine riuer receiue another beke from by east, which is bound on the northwest side to the outliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betwene Holt castell and 40 Ferneton, Almere and Dulton, as march betwene Denbighshire and Cheshire; and then taketh in the Alannus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be described. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two several places, each being two miles from other; the one called Alen Spaw, the other Alen Uehart, as I do find reported. They meet also beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill coming from by west, it runneth on to the Hold to Horweth; and so in and out to Grefesford; taking the Cagibog from south west with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and so into the Dee, a mile and more about the fall of Pototon becke, which also descendeth from south west out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheshire on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it meeteth with the Belfon brooke, whereof I do find this description following.

The Belfon water riseth in the wooddie soile betwene Spynston and Belfon castell with a forked head, and leauing Belfon towne on the northeast, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Pakelleie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Colburne, and Leehall, to 50 Alford, and so into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Aberton, where it brancheth againe, sending forth one arme by Stanneie pole, and the parke side into Perseie arme, toward the northwest, and another by south west, which cometh as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughston, Backeford, Charleton, Apfen, the Baites, and so vnder a bidge to Chester ward, where

where it falleth into the Dee arme at Flockes brooke, excluding Wirrall on the north-west as an Island, which lieth out like a leg betwene the Merse and the Dee armes, and including and making another fresh Island within the same, whose limits by north-west are betwene Thorne-ton, Chester, & Aldford, on the north-east Thorne-ton and Hakeleie, and on the south-east Hakeleie and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof doth in part resemble a triangle. And thus much of the Dee, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at south-west, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in harvest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their grasse and coe-ne that groweth in the lower grounds nere unto the banks thereof. Certes it is about three hundred foot, at his departure from the Tigne, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of channell, it enforceeth men to seeke new bounds unto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awaie the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Wangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Dorton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime nere unto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogether to omit it.

The situation
of the monasterie
of Wangor.

This abbey of Wangor stood sometime in English Wallo, by hither and south of the river Dee. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth unto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there doe plow up bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Argraine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken up in their rotten weeds, which were much like unto those of our late blacke monks, as Ieland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbey stood in a balie, and in those times the river ran hard by it. The compass thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat upon the south. But the Dee hauing now changed his channell, runneth through the verie middell of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane come, there is no such necessitie of the reherfall thereof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being past the Dee we sailed about Wirrall, passing by Wirrall or Hilbre Island, and Leuerpole, passe, making our entrie into Merse arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betwene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in manner cut off the point from the maine of Wirrall. For rising nere to the north-west shore, it holdeth a course directlie toward the south-east by Wallaseie and Dorton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, intirened on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well nere three miles except I be deceiued. Fro hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwene Webington and Bombro chappell, descending from the hills, which are scene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Wesson water, we come next of all unto the Wiuer, than the

which I read of no river in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windleses and crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hills, which lie betwene Kibleie and Buckle townes, and sone after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Kibleie poole, it runneth by Kibleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moze that commeth from Harburie: and beneath Sandford bridge the Combuz from Combermer or Comber lake: and finally the third that commeth from about Poneton, and runneth by Langerlaw, then betwene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the first Aun or third Dye, whereof I haue spoken already. After these confluences it hatterth also to Audlem, Watklow, and at Waderton crosseth the Wetleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widenberie, and so by Waderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Pantwich, but per it come at Marchford bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Calnerleie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lee and the Wuluarne both in one channell, where of the first riseth at Welfton, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Spinchion and Cardeswice, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ache (which passeth by Wernall Grange) and afterward going to Marke, the vale Kollall, and Caton, it commeth finally to Rostwith where it receiueth the Dane, to be described as followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbithire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Wharfed, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betwene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Partwell forest.

It is not long also per it do meet with the Bole water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth unto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Dorton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cathton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, joining also beneath Spidewith with the Croco or Croxton, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake about Bruerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one unto the Dane, at Croton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boslocke, Wauernham, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Rostwith into the aforesaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Werneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one channell, whereof one commeth from about Allostoke, by Holme & Laffocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a rill called Diuerie) thence to ouer Deuer, Holford, and there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and joining at nether Tableie) it goeth forth to Winthambridge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluence they proceed till they come almost at Werneton, where the said channell joineth with a prettie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betwene Comberbach, Rudworth and Harburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine river. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Atonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Bosleie, and Critton, finally the third sone after from Kimsleie, and then proceedeth on in his passage by Aheton chappell, Frodesham, Rochesauage, and

Combuz.

Wetleie.

Salop.

Lee and wuluarne.

Ache.

Dane.

Bole.

Whelocke.

Croco.

Diuerie.

Waterlesse.

so into the sea: and this is all that I doe find of the *Winer*, whose influences might haue bene moze largelie set downe, if mine insunctions had bene ample deliuered, yet this I hope may suffice for his description, and knowledge of his course.

Merseie.

The *Merseie* riseth among the *Peke* hills, and from thence going downe to the *Woodhouse*, and taking sundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwene *Chester* and *Darbishires*.

Goite.

Going also toward *Goitehall*, it meeteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrie waters called *Goite*, whereof I find this short and briefe description. The *Goite* riseth not far from the *Shire mere* hill (where in the *Doue* and the *Dane* haue their originall) that parteth *Darbishire* and *Chestershire* in sunder, and thence commeth downe to *Goite houses*, *Querton*, *Carhall*, *Shalwerolle*, and at *Wethbridge* taketh in the *Frith*, and beneath *Werdhall*, the Set that riseth aboute *Thersethall* and runneth by *Querset*. After this confluence also the *Merseie* goeth to *Goite hall*, & at *Stockford* or *Stopford* towne meeteth with the *Tame*, which diuideth *Chestershire* and *Lancaster-shire* in sunder, and whose head is in the berie edge of *Worsheshire*, from whence it goeth southward to *Sadleworth* *Frith*, then to *Mukelbirke*, *Stalie hall*, *Alldon Underline*, *Dunkenfield*, *Denton*, *Keddish*, and so at *Stockford* into the *Merseie* streame, which passeth forth in like sort to *Diddesbirie*, receiuing a brooke by the waie that commeth from *Lime parke*, by *Bumhall parke* and *Cheble*.

*Frith
Set.*

Tame.

Irwell.

From *Diddesbirie* it proceedeth to *Horzen*, *Ath-ton*, *Aiston*, *Flirton*, where it receiue the *Irwell* a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I doe go forward anie further with the *Merseie*, although it be not navigable by reason of sundrie rockes and shalowes that lie disperfed in the same. It riseth aboute *Bacop*, and goeth thence to *Kosendale*, and in the waie to *Aitenfield* it taketh in a water from *Hafelden*. After this confluence it goeth to *Pewhall*, *Wandleham*, *Burie*, and aboute *Katcliffe* ioineeth with the *Rache* water, a faire streame and to be described when I haue finished the *Irwell*, as also the next vnto it beneath *Katcliffe*, because I would not haue so manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefore past these two, our *Irwell* goeth on to *Clifton*, *Holland*, *Edgicroft*, *Strengwasies*, and to *Panchester*, where it vnieth it selfe with the *Pike*, that runneth thereinto by *Koiton* *Widleton*, *Heaton hill*, and *Blackeleie*. Beneath *Panchester* also it meeteth with the *Medlocke*, that commeth thither from the north-east side of *Oldham*, and betwene *Clifton* and *Garret Halles*, and so betwene two parkes, falling into it about *Holme*. Thence our *Irwell* going forward to *Wadfall*, *Whiclewye*, *Cles*, *Bar-ton*, and *Denelhom*, it falleth nere vnto *Flirton*, into the water of *Merseie*, where I will staie a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto some passe, of which I spake before.

*Reus, or
Rache.*

*Leland spea-
keth of the
Cozne water
about Pan-
chester; but I
know nothing
of his course.
Pike.
Medlocke.*

Rache.

The *Rache*, *Rech* or *Rith* consisteth of sundrie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is *Rache* it selfe, which riseth among the blacke *Stone* hills, from whence it goeth to *Littlebrough*, and being past *Clegge*, receiueeth the *Welle*, that commeth thither by *Pilneraw* chappell. After this confluence also, it meeteth with a rill nere vnto *Rachedale*, and sone after with the *Sprotton* water, and then the *Sudleie* brooke, whereby his chanell is not a little increased, which goeth from thence to *Grisebirke* and so into the *Irwell*, before it come at *Katcliffe*. The second streame is called *Bradsha*. It riseth of two beds, about *Eureton* church, whence it runneth to *Bradsha*, and per long taking in the *Walmesleie* becke, they go in one chanell till they

Welle.

*Sprotton,
Sudleie.*

Bradsha.

Walmesleie.

come beneath *Bolton* in the *Poze*. From hence receiuing a water that commeth from the roots of *Kauenspike* hill by the way it goeth by *Deane* and *Bolton* in the *Poze*, and so into *Bradsha* water, which taketh his waie to *Leucmoze*, *Farntwoth*, *Leuerleste*, and finally into the *Irwell*, which I before described, and whereof I find these two verses to be added at the last:

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,

When they meet with the Merseie, do lose their name.

Now therefore to resume our *Merseie*, you shall vnderstand that after his confluence with the *Irwell*, he runneth to *Partington*, and not farre from thence interteineth the *Cles*, or *Clesbrooke* water, increased with sundrie armes, whereof one commeth from *Lodward*, another from aboute *Houghton*, the third from *Hulton parke*, and the fourth from *Shakerleis*: and being all vnieth nere vnto *Leigh*, the confluence goeth to *Holcroft*, and aboute *Holling* graene into the *Wolfe* *Merseie*. After this increase the said streame in like sort runneth to *Rigton*, & there admitteth the *Bollein* or *Holling* brooke water into his societie, which rising nere the *Chamber* in *Marwell* forrest goeth to *Ridge*, *Sutton*, *Wollington*, *Wessbirie*, and *Pewton*, where it taketh in a water comming from about *Dot* *Chappell*, which runneth from thence by *Adlington*, *Wadford*, *Walmesleie*, *Kingeie*, and *Ashleie*, there receiuing the *Wirkin* brooke that commeth from betwene *Allerton* and *Marshall*, by *Palwerleie*, and sone after the *Parus* or *Par*, that commeth thereinto from *Par* *Mar* towne, by *Kawfozne*, and after these confluences goeth on to *Dowham*, and ouer against *Kipton* beneath *Crofford* bydge into the *Merseie* water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all nere *Lim* before it go to *Wetwall*. Thence also it goeth by *Burche* and so to *Warrington*, a little beneath crossing a brooke that commeth from *Par* by *Bowleie*, *Wadaleie*, and *Saukeie* on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from *Cropenhall*, and with these it runneth on to nether *Walton*, *Aton* grange, and so to *Pentkith*, where it interteineth the *Wold*, and sone after the *Grundich* water on the other side, that passeth by *Preston*, and *Daresburie*. Finally our *Merseie* going by *Boulton*, it falleth into *Lirepole*, or as it was called of old *Luerpole* hauen, when it is past *Kumcorne*. And thus much of the *Merseie*, comparable vnto the *Winer*, and of no lesse fame than most riuers of this Island.

Cles.

*Bollein
brooke.*

Wirkin.

Mar.

*Wold.
Grundich.*

Carbocke.

Alt or M.

*Duglesse or
Daleie.*

*Eand or
Shelmere.*

Being past these two, we come next of all to the *Carbocke* water, that falleth into the sea at *Harbocke*, without finding anie mo till we be past all *Witrall*, out of *Lirepole* hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the north point of the aforesaid Island. Then come we to the *Altmouth*, whose fresh rising not far into the land, commeth to *Jesson*, and sone after receiuing another on the right hand, that passeth into it by *Aughton*, it is increased no moze before it come at the sea. Neither find I anie other falles till I meet with the mouth of the *Parrois* and *Duglesse*, which haue their recourse to the sea in one chanell as I take it. The *Duglesse* commeth from by west of *Kauenspike* hill, and per long runneth by *Andertonford* to *Worthington*, and so (taking in two or thre rilles by the waie) to *Wigen*, where it receiueeth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in south from *Wrin* parke, the other from north-east. Being past this, it receiueeth one on the north side from *Standish*, and another by south from *Holland*, and then goeth on toward *Kufford* chappell taking the *Eand* withall, that descendeth from aboute *Shelmersdale* towne, and goeth through *Lathan* parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of *Derbie*.

Derby.

Derbie. It meeteth also on the same side, with Sper-ton mere water, in which mere is one Island called Petholine beside other, and when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long per it fall into the Parrow.

Parrow.
Bagen.

The Parrow riseth of two heads, whereof the second is called Bagen brooke, and making a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Gleskan, Crofton, and then fourth next of ail with the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Holo, Heskett, and so into the sea. Leland writing of the Parrow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglesse also runneth the Parrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandshire from Derbyshire. Under the foot of Chorle also I find a rill named Ceole, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of stones, whereof the inhabitants doe make a great boast and price. And hitherto Leland.

Ribble.

The Ribble, a river verie rich of salmon and lamprerie, doth in manner inuiron Preston in Ander-nesse, and it riseth nere to Ribblesdale above Gils-borne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Sallie, Chathburne, Waddington, Clithero castell, and be-neath Pitton meeteth the Ouder at north-west, which riseth not farre from the crosse of Orat in Porke-shire, and going thence to Shillburne, Peloton, Rad-holme parke, and Stonie hirst, it falleth per long in-to the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble wa-ter hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Cal-der from south-east. This brooke riseth about Holme church in Porckeshire, which lieth by east of Lanca-ster-shire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiveth a triding rill, thence to Higham, and per long crossing one water that commeth from Wilcoler by Colne, and another by and by named

Piddle.

Piddle brooke, that runneth by Pelu church in the Piddle, it meeteth with the Calder, which passeth forth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the o-ther side, it runneth on to Altham, and so to Spar-tholme, where the Henburne brooke doth ioine with all, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Kilston, and so into the Calder, as I haue said be-fore. The Calder therefore being thus enlarged, runneth forth to Keade, where maister Powell dwelleth, to Whallie, and some after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisbury hall, Rib-chester, Whastin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Rib-bles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Douthwarth or Pentwarth into the maine sea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandshire from An-derness, and it riseth by east above Darwent chap-pell, and some after uniting it selfe with the Blacke-burne, and Rodelesworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the Sannoche brooke, it riseth somewhat about Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of this riuer.

Blackeburne
Rodelesworth.

Sannoche.

Wire.

The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Car-stan, out of an hill in Wiresdale forest, from whence it runneth by Shirehed chappell, and then going by Madland, or Maddiler, Grenelaw castell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Carstan, and Kirk-land hall, it first receiveth the second Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then ano-ther chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plumpton brooke, it riseth south of Gosner, and com-meth by Cawford hall, and per long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth

Plumpton.
Barton.

with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland Broke forest, by Claughton hall, where master Broke haies doth lie, & so through Sperco forest. After this confluence the Plime or Plumpton water meeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which passeth forth to Michaell church, and the Kato cliffes, and about Thozneton crosseth the Skipton that goeth by Dotton, then into the Wire rode, and finally through the sands into the sea, according to his na-ture. When we were past the fall of the Wire, we coasted by by the salt cotes, to Coker mouth, whose head, though it be in Wiresdale forest, not far from that of the Wire, yet the Thozneton of course deser-ueth no description. The next is Cobdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not in-creased with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof so much the sooner.

Being past these two, I came to a notable ri-uer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of sta-tutes hath) Lonwire Anno 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and gi-ueth name to Lancaster, Loncaster, or Luneca-ster, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerse stamps, whose course doth rest to be de-scribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two de-scriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as maister Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deli-uered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was gi-uen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he saith) to search out and view the same, but verie late-ly to speake of. The Lune (saith maister Moore) of some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at Crosse-bo, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondshire out of three heads. Forth also from Dent dale is Cars-dale, an vplandish towne, wherein are fene manie times great store of red deere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the ballies, and there-by runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewise is a brooke meeting with Carsdale water, so that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beside these waters also before men-tioned, it receiveth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great brooke, which commeth out of the Moorth, betwene Westmerland and Richmondshire, which taking with him the aforesaid chanels, doth run seauen miles per it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entred into Landsale, corruptlie so called, per ad-uenture for Lunedale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles southward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maister Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note wri-teth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riseth at Wusfall head, by west, and going by Wusfall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Bieder that descen-deth thither from Bieder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Bieder dale foot, & so to Tibarte, where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottom, of which one commeth from besides Oton, another from betwene Kafebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each side of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Round-swath, about which it uniteth it selfe with the War-roth. Thence it runneth to Hologill, Delaker, Firebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Hozuill hilles, and afterward crossing the Dent brooke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their course as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in ano-ther rill comming from by east, then to Kirbie, Landsale, and about Whittenton crosseth a brooke comming

Lune.

Burbecke.

Bieder.

Barrow.

Dent.

Greteie.

comming from the countie stone by Burros, and some after beneath Tunstall and Greteie, which descending from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twisselton, Ingelton, Thoneton, Burton, Wratton, and nere Thurland castell, toucheth finally with the Lune, which brancheth, and some after uniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward Jew parke, and receiveth the Wennie, and the Humberne both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the crosse of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, about Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riseth north of Wulfcrag. After this confluence also about Jew parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Ercliffe, Aycliffe, Soddale, Oxton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both.

Docker.
Berie.

The next fall is called Docker, and peradventure the same that Leland doth call the Berie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich hitson was borne, it riseth north of Docker towne, and going by Bartwic hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunelands. Next of all we come to Witham becke, which riseth not far from Witham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and maintained, and by all likelihood resorteth in the end to Lunelands.

Sprot.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called Kenlands: into the first of which diuerse waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarig hall, another frō by west of Whinfield, & joining with the first on the east side of Skelmer parke. The third called Sprot or Sprotā riseth at Sloodale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke betwene them, & fall into the fourth east of Warne side, not farre in sunder. The fourth or last called Ken, commeth from Kentmers side, out of Ken more, in a pole of a mile compasse, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Warne side, to Kendall, Hellsen, Sigath, Siggeswicke, Leuenbridge, Milnehoype, and so into the sea. Certes this Ken is a pretie deepe riuer, and yet not safelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the chanell there. The other pece of the forked arme, is called Winstar, the hed therof is about Winstar chapell, & going downe almost by Carpmansell, & Betherlake, it is not long per it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulfe from the Hamside point to the Mealenasse, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to see how they increase. Those also which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kenlands; but such as receiue the descent from the fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuefands, as I find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impediment: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will per long become verie noisye, if not choked by altogether. The Winander water riseth about Cumbralesfones, from whence it goeth to Cangiidge, where it maketh a mere: then to Ambleside, and taking in per it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest mere, or fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length, finally, comming to one small chanell as

Winander.

boue Petobridge, it reacheth not about six miles per fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the fosse that riseth nere unto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Grisdale, Sattrethwate, Kulland, Potobridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea. On the west side of the fosse also commeth another through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which per long making the Thurstan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, passeth forth by Bidthwaits, Blareth, Colwilton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the sea. Hauing passed the Leuen or Conifands, or Conistonelands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Letw, which riseth at Celwike chapell, and falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The Kauther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Almerstone abbeie, and joining both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct their boiage. Then come we to another rill south, west of Aldingham, descending by Claiton castell, and likewise the fourth that riseth nere Lindell, and running by Daulton castell and Furnesse abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the sea ouer against Maucie and Maucie chapell, except mine aduertisements miscade me.

Sparke.

Letw.
Kauther.

Dodon.

The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberlind and Westmerland, commeth from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Wiffaie parke, & Brough-ton, it falleth into the saltwater, betwene Kirbie, and Pallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto the Kauenglasse point, and well entred into Cumberlind countie.

Comming to Kauenglasse, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one issueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke mere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske pole which runneth by Eskdale, Dalegarth, and some after meeting with the Denocke, betwene Spatburthwate and Kauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On the other side of Kauenglasse also commeth the Spite brooke, from Spiterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the first is dyked, but some after making a lake, they gather againe into a smaller chanell: finally meeting with the Bzenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton south, east, as I weene of Drg. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland by rest, by Cander, Bellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Guer water, descending out of a pole about Colwaldbow, and thence going by Guerdale, it crosseth a water from Arladon, and after proceedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hyde, it is not long per it meeteth with the sea.

Denocke.

Eske.

Spite.

Bzenge.
Cander.

The next fall is at Pozelebie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast about by saint Wess to Derwentfiet hauen, whose water is truelie lozitten Dargwent or Deruent. It riseth in the hils about Borodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine islands, and so vnto Belswic, where it falleth into the Bure, whereof the said lake is called Bursmere, or the Barthmere pole. In like sort the Bure or Barthmere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegbur, the twoorth, Fomeside, S. Johns, and Thelcote: and there meeting with a water from Grisdale, by Walethwate, called Grise, it runneth to Burnesse, Belswic, and there receiveth the Darwent. From Belswic in like sort it goeth to Thonewate (and there making a plash) to Armanfwate, Kell, Huthwate and Cokerimouth, and here it receiveth the Cokar, which

Dargwent.

Barthmere.

Grise.

Cokar.

Wire.

Clime.

Croco.

Wamas.

Eden.

Helbecke.
Bellow.

Dyne.

Worston.

Dybecke.
Crowerbecke.
Liuenet.

Milburne.
Blincoyne.

Uise.

Parke.

Harteshop.

Waterdale.
Roden.
Glenkain.

which rising among the hills commeth by Lowfe-
water, Bakenythwate, Lozton, and so to Cokar-
mouth towne, from whence it passeth to Bridge-
ham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the
south side that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Sam-
burne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into
the sea.

Leland saith that the Wire is a crake where ships
lie off at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington
towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth also
that there is iron and coles, beside lead ore in Witte-
dale. Neuerthelesse the water of this riuer is for the
most part soze troubled, as comming thorough a sud-
die or sodde moze, so that little good fish is said to
liue therein. But to proceed. The Clime riseth in the
mines about Amautree, and from Amautree goeth to
Peresbie, Harbie, Wzow, and there taking in a rill
on the left hand comming by Lozpenne, it goeth to
Hutton castell, Alwarbie, Wirthie, Dercham, and so
into the sea. Whence we go about by the chapell at the
point, and come to a baie serued with two fresh wa-
ters, whereof one rising westward goeth by War-
ton, Rabbie, Cotes, and so into the maine, taking in
a rill withall from by south, called Croco, that com-
meth from Crockdale, by Womefield. The second is
named Wampole brooke, & this riseth of two heads,
whereof one is about Cardew. Whence in like sort it
goeth to Thuresbie, Croston, Wuton, Gamlesbie,
Wampall, the Lath, and betwene Whiteridge and
Kirbie into the saltwater. From hence we double the
Botwincle, and come to an estuarie, whither three
notable riuers do resort, and this is named the Sol-
uete mouth. But of all, the first excedeth, which is cal-
led Eden, and whose description doth follow here at
hand.

The Eden well fraught with samon, descendeth
(as I heare) from the hills in Athelstane moze at the
foot of Hymat Hoquell hill, where Swale also riseth,
and southeast of Wallerslang forrest. From thence
in like maner it goeth to Wallerslang towne, Pen-
dragon castell, Wharton hall, Petbie, Hartleie cas-
tell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great
Mulgane, it receiue thre waters, whereof one is
called Helbecke, because it commeth from the Derne
and Clinge mounteins by a towne of the same de-
nomination. The other is named Bellow, and descen-
deth from the east mounteins by Sowarbie, & these
two on the northeast: the third falleth from Kauen-
standale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Bla-
terne, and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by
Warcop, and taking in the Dyne about Burelles on
the one side, and the Worston becke on the other, it
passeth to Applebie, thence to Cotwibie, where it crosseth
the Dybecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and
there meeting with the Trobut becke, and beneath the
same with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other
water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Cle-
bson) it runneth finally into Eden. After the conflu-
ences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and some af-
ter meeting with the Milburne and Blincoyne wa-
ters, in one chanel, it runneth to Wamburth and
Hornebie, where we will staie till I haue described
the water that meeteth withall nere the aforesaid
place called the Uise.

This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed
with six rills, whereof one is called the Parke, and
nere the fall thereof into the plash is a towne of the
same name; the second hight Harteshop, & runneth
from Harteshop hall by Depedale; the third is Pa-
terdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fifth Glent-
guin, but the first runneth into the said lake, south of
Cotwathwate. Afterward when this lake commeth to-
ward Pole towne, it runneth into a small chanel, &
going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by

the waie from Waker castell. Thence it goeth to
Stokebyridge, Poneworth, and some after meeteth
with a pretie broke called Loder, comming from
Thornethwate by Banton, and here a rill; then by
Helton, and there another; thence to Alkham, Clif-
ton, and so ioining with the other called Uise, they go
to Brougham castell, fine churches, Hornebie, and
so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that com-
meth downe from Pencath. Being past Hornebie,
our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and some after re-
ceiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioi-
ning beneath Wilingell, it passeth to Alenbie, then
to Kirke Oswald (on each side whereof commeth in a
rill from by east) thence to Donnele, and there a rill,
Ansable, Cotehill, Corbie castell, Wetherall, Pet-
bie: where I will staie, till I haue described the Ir-
ding, and such waters as fall into the same before I
go to Carleill.

The Irding ariseth in a moze in the borders of
Tindale, nere unto Horse head crag, where it is
called Terne becke; untill it come to Spicrag hill,
that diuideth Northumberland and Gilleland in
lunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being
therfore come to Querhall, it receiue the Pulstrofe
becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Quercenton,
Petherdenton, Leuercock, and Castelfead, where it
taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke
Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into
Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdrington,
& so into Eden. But a little before it come
there, it crosseth with the Gillie that commeth by
Tankin, and some after falleth into it. After these
confluences, our Eden goeth to Linkeche castell,
(and here it interteineeth a broke, comming from
Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then unto Car-
leill, which is now almost inuironed with foure
waters.

For beside the Eden it receiueeth the Peder, Peder alias
which Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This
Peder riseth in the hills south west of Penruddocke,
from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Gra-
stoke castell, Catelele, and Bender side hall, and then
taking in a water from Anthanke, it goeth to Cath-
wade, Pettrelwaite, Petwigggin, Carleton, and so
into Eden, northeast of Carleill. But on the north
side the Buserth broke doth swiftilie make his en-
trance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie castell, and
Housledon; as I am informed. The third is named
Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which riseth about
the Skidlow hills, runneth to Gledale, Caldberke,
Warnell, Saberham, Rose castell, Dawson,
Wounson, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth
into Eden, which going from thence by Grimdale,
Kirke Ambros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea be-
neath the Rowcliffe castell. And thus much of the E-
den, which Leland neuerthelesse describeth after an-
other sort, whose words I will not let to set downe
here in this place, as I find them in his comment-
aries.

The Eden, after it hath run a pretie space from
his head, meeteth in time with the Uise water, which
is a great broke in Westmerland, and rising about
Maredale, a mile west of Loder, it commeth by the
late dissolved house of Shape priorie, thre miles
from Shape, and by Wampton village into Loder
or Lodon. Certes this streame within halfe a mile
of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles
course, and afterward waring narrow againe, it
runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome.
The said Eden in like sort receiueeth the Alnote a-
bout thre miles beneath Brougham castell, and in-
to the same Alnote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie
touched) which riseth by north west in Waterdale hills,
four miles about Dacor castell, and then going
J. f. through

Loder.

Irdring.

Terne.

Pulstrofe.

Cambocke.

Gillie.

Buserth.

Leland.

Loder.

Alnote.

Dacor.

Deus.

Gala.

Leuen.
Lamford.
Eske.Comunt.
Kirkop.
Lidde.

Eske.

Leue.
Long.
Galle.
Eske.
Robinskie.

through Daro; parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Cnote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Daro. In one of his booke also he saith, how Carleill standeth betwene two streames, that is to saie the Deus, which cometh thither from by south west, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth more over how the Deus in times past was named Gala o; Gala, and that of the names of these two, Lugiballa for Carleill hath bene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his conjecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certain, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where iust occasion moueth me to remember them, for the better vnderstanding of our histories, as they doe come to hand.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one channell, and with them the Lamford and the Eske, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen joining therfore about Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Whacken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Comunt water meeteth with the Eske. In like sort the Kirkop joining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirkop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Bathwater, and taking in the Eske about the Spote, it loseth the former name, and is called Eske, vntill it come to the sea.

Having thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we proceed with those which are to be found vpon the Scottish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwicke, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set forthward in the beginning of our voiage. The first riuer that I met withall on the Scottish coast, is the Eske, after I came past the Soluete, which hath his head in the Cheviot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Borew on the sands. This Eske hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluete first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little creeke from Kirkthell, and so to Anand, whereof the ballie Anandale doth seeme to take the name. There is also the Fide, whereof cometh Fidsdale, the Ben, the Dae, the Crake, and the Bladneckie, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) do lie vpon the south of Gallowaie.

On the north side also we haue the Kuan, the Arde, the Camle Dune, the Burwin, the Cloude (where vpon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcloude, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Douglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like manner we came vnto the Leuin mouth, whereinto the Blake on the south west and the Lomund lake, with his steeing fies and fish without finnes (yet verie holson) doth seeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best mariners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to holse by sailles on hie. The like is same in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certein fies also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which other wise is verie fruitfull for pasture of cattell.

Pert vnto this is the Leue, the Kage, the Long, the Galle, & the Ycke, which for the exceeding greatnesse of the ir heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinskie, the Fozeland, the Carbat, the Lean,

and the Abir, whereinto the Spanstie, the Lohne, the Lough, the Atke, and the Zefe do fall, there is also the Dell, the Zord, the Dwin, the Dewisse, the Dine the Lang, the Dain, the Hew, the Brun, the Bell, the Dowe, the Fars, the Pesse, the Verre, the Can, the Glasse, the Paure, the Urdall, the Fers (that cometh out of the Calbell) the Fair lake, which two latter lie a little by west of the Dychades, and are properlie called cluets, because they issue swelte from springs; but most of the other lakes, because they come from kinnes and huge poles, & such low bottomes, fed with springs, as seeme to haue no acceffe, but onelie recesse of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

But to proceed. Having once past Dungsblie head in Cathnesse, we shall yet long come to the mouth of the Witte, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Spaldens pappes. Then to the Brolwe, the Clin, the Dwin (whereinto runneth these riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Pesse, which beside the plentie of salmon found therein is neuer frozen, nor suffereth yce to remaine there, that is cast into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Sparding, the Finverne, the Spaie (which receiues the Wine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Lrain, and the Wogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Banguhan head, and so to the Dohne, and Dae, which two streames bring forth the greatest famons fish that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the north Eske, whereinto the Elmond runneth about Bredin, the south Eske, then the Lounen and the Lab, which is the finest riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereinto most riuers and lakes do run. As Farlake, Fith, Coure, Loch, Cannach, Linell, Lolon, Frewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rilles which I did neuer loke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londons, vpon whose mouth saint Andrewes doth stand, the lake Leuin, vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in Ffildand, and then the Firth o; Foztha, which some doe call the North and Scottish sea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbres was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that cometh from Londons) includeth all Fife, the said Foztha being full of oysters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the deepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clackie, Clackie, Alon, Dune, Berie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Wan, Torkeston, Kotham, Pughell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are nere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Haie, then are we come vnto the Tweede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwicke on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and containeth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well nere foure miles in length, and three miles in bredth in the broad end; except mine information doe faile me.

The Tweede (which Ptolomie nameth Tualis o; Toelis, & betwene which and the Line the countie of Northumberland is in maner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes o; bound betwene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Dymilar in Cuthale o; rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the middle of an hill called Aitthane, o; Harestan in Tweede dale ten miles from Pibble, and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Wythburgh, Lelle, Clackie, Potham,

Fozlan.
Carbat.
Lean.
Abir.
Fike.
Fete.
Bell.
Fozd.
Dwin.
Dewisse.
Dine.
Lang.
Dyan.
Hew.
Dyan.
Dale.
Dow.
Faro.
Pesse.
Verre.
Con.
Glasie.
Dyaur.
Urdall.
Fisse.
Calder.
Wille.
Browze.
Clin.
Twin.
Shin.
Sillan.
Carew.
Pesse.
Sparding.
Spaie.
Dohne.
Dae.
Eske.

Clackie.
Clackie.
Alon.
Dune.
Berie.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Wan.
Torkeston.
Kotham.
Pughell.
Blene.
Tweede.

Porham and Hagarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Barwicke, as I heare. Thus saith Leland. But I not contented with this so short a discourse of so long a riuer & brieue description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race on the English side, and rehearfall of such riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Kidam, it receiueth betwene that and Carham a becke, which descendeth from the hills that lie by west of Windzham. Going also from Kidam by Longbridgeham (on the Scottish side) and to Carham, it hasteth immediatlie to Marke castell on the English, and by Spillaw on the other side, then to Coznewall, Cald streame, and Elmouth, where it receiueth sundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whose description inleth here at hand.

Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the issue of the furthest water that cometh hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of the waie in the Cheuiot hills, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did sometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartside, Ingram, Bzanton, Cratoleie, Hedgelie, Beueleie, and Welwic, beneath which it receiueth one water coming from Rodham by west, and some after a second descending from the Spiddletons, and so they go as one with the Bzomis, by Chatton to Fotobzeie (where they crosse the third water falling downe by north from Fotoborne by Heselbridge) thence to Moller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Spiddleton hall, and runneth by Harbleie, Whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, whereby the water of Bzomis is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Moller, no more called Bzomis but the Till, untill it come at the Tweede. The Till passing therefore by Meteland and Dedington, meeteth some after with a faire streame coming from by south west, which most men call the Bobwent or Bobent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklat hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattons, beneath the which it ioineth from by southeast with the Helderborne, and then goeth to Hudson, Downeham, Bilham, and a little by north of Peloton kirke, and betwene it and west Peloton, it taketh in another water called Clin, coming from the Cheuiot hills by Heth pole, and from thenceforth runneth on without anie further increase, by Copland Cuart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Bzoneridge, Fodcastell, Catall castle, Heaton, & north of Elmouth into the Tweede, or by west of Metell, except my memorie doth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Tweede descendeth to Crotehugh, the Petobiggins, Porham castell, Ford, Lungridge, & crossing the Whitaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Catw mill it runneth to Ddo, to Barwicke, and so into the Ocean, leauing (as I said) so much English ground on the north west ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betwene Catwills, Barwicke, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe aerie waie, or not much more; except he be deceiued.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Botowden by Barington. Then by the second which ariseth betwene Spiddleton and Detcham: Dereham, and runneth by Chail and the Hooke; next of all to Warne mouth, of whose backe water I treat as followeth. The Warne or Gineue riseth south west of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindlestone, and Budm, it leaseth Peloton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill be-

neath Pellington, which cometh downe betwene Newland and Olchester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the same. From Warne mouth, we sailed by Bambozow castell, and came at last to a fall betwene Bedwell and Peloton. The maine water that serueth this issue, riseth about Carleton from the foot of an hill, which seemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Tonleie, Dorford, Buntton, and Tuggell, and finally into the sea, as to his course apperteineth.

From this water we went by Dunstanburgh castell, into the Chaine or Alnemouth, which is serued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riseth in the hills west of Alnham towne, and called by Prolomie, Celnus. From thence also it runneth by Kile, Kile, Edlington, and Whittingham, where it croseth a rill coming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Etchuld at Bzome, & likewise the third that riseth at Peloton, and runneth by Edlington castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, coming from about Shipley from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewise, & then to Denny, receiuing there a rillet from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betwene Almouth towne and Wooddon, it sweepeth into the Ocean.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head also there, of is in the roots of Kemblespeth hills, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Uswate (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiueneth the Kildie by south west, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hor, which cometh from the Woodland and hillie soile by Allington, & falleth into the same, west of Parke head. It ioineth also ver long with the Kildie, which cometh in north by Willone, and then bieth to Sharpton, to Harbole, where it croseth the Pardop water by south, then to Woodhouse, and swallowing in a little becke by the waie from south west, to Bickerton, to Tolkons, Peloton, and running apace toward Whittton towne, it taketh a bzoake withall that cometh in north west of Alnham, nere Elhabo, and goeth by Sharnewood, ouer nether Crewhet, Snitter, and Myerton, and some after meeteth it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Kethburie, or Whittton towne, to Halue, to Bzinkeshorne, Welden, taking withall some after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by south, then to Elhabo, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Farellie bzoake, that goeth by Wintreing by south east, and Shelbrike water, that goeth by Hason, to Bzainsaugh by north) and from thence to Porricke Warkeworth castell, and so into the sea.

There is furthermore a little fall, betwene Hatwkeallaw and Drurith, which riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie bzoake rising west of Copleie, from whence it goeth to Critlington, Ugham, Linton, and ver long in the sea. Wanbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth by west and by north of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Spiddleton, and Angerton. Here it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Spodeben to Spithforth, and there in like manner croseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Pelwiggan, goeth by Donnetie Kirke, Whittton castell, Stanton, Purnibing, Peloton, and so into the Wanbecke, which runneth in like manner from Spithforth to Spozbeth castell (within two miles whereof it

Kile, or Kile,
alias Chaine.

Cocket.
Uswate.

Kildie.

Yardop.

It may be
Leland mista-
kerh Cicking-
ton water for
one of these.

Lune.

Wanbecke.

Font.

The description of Britaine.

ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Bottle castle, Shepwas, and so into the sea, thre miles from the next haven which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Welfe, Dgle, and (receiuing the Port also the Brocket, that springeth east of S. Oswalds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Spadfernnes, Halkewell, the Grange, & Dillingtons. After it hath taken in the Port from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Hartleie streame) and is past Hartwic on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Wedlington, Colopon, and at Blithes nuke, into the depe Ocean. Hartleie streamelet riseth in Wete-slade parioch, goeth by Hailwell, and at Hartleie towne yeldeth to the sea.

North Tine. The Tine of Tinna, a ruer notable storied with samon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth by about Welkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirlop and the Shele) thence to Cragheles, Leapeth (receiuing on the south a rill out of Lindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that cometh out of Lindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betwene Parro and Fawston hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and so goeth on to Grenesfed, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holinhead, and likewise another on the south comming from Lindale, by Chuden, Dalacastell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hella side, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Riddle, a verie prettie water, whose description is giuen me after this maner.

Riddle. The Riddle therefore riseth within thre miles of the Scotch march, as Leland saith, & cometh through Riddesdale, whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redquibe hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Chelop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rills namelesse and obscure, as one on the north side next unto the Petop or Spelhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wulaw to Rochester, then two from south west, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durt, then the Smalburne from the west. Pert to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Duereie, and finally the last which descendeth from Elledon hilles, by Punkrige and ioineth with our Riddle, north west of Pub, howgh, after which the said Riddle goeth by Woodburne, Wilingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which standeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the least above the towne of Berham. After this confluence it passeth to Lehall, to Carehouse (crossing Shitlington becke by west which also receiueth the Pare on the south side of Shitlington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Wozkeburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Pozeleis or Pozele above, and Simons burne beneath Shepchase, and likewise the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne castell, next of all the Hall from the north east, which cometh by Crington, & so holding his course directlie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswalds through the Pidithwall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, and north west (as I doe write) of Berham.

Tine, S.

per it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Elgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awtten more, it ioineth with Schud from by west, and lone after with the Went from by east above Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Aline on the other) to Thornehope, where it is enlarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Knareldale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it meeteth with Hartleie water, by south west comming from Sibbins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from south east, and thence when it cometh to Willester castell, it carrieth another withall from by west, Thirlewall called Kippall which riseth in the forest of Alotwes, and goeth by the Wiltowne, Blinkinslop, & Wiltown, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinsheld, which goeth by Grenelgh to Hiltwell: thence going by Anthanke, it crosseth another rill from by south, descending from the hilles that lie north of Todelewood, and then proceeding into Wilmotteloge, it admitteth the Wilmotts becke from the south, and another running by Bableie hall on the north side of Beltingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this maner.

The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth south east of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundop, it taketh in a rill withall from by east; after which confluence it runneth to Hewthele, Allington, Cadon, Old towne, & in the course to Stauertpele, meeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Hillop low hilles about Wheteleie sheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Walcopole, Dytton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permaudbie, and crossing there another rill in like maner from by west, it goeth by Whitfield, and ioining some after with the east Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and so into the Tine betwene Beltingham and Lees, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Woodhall, Dymers, Thernebie, Collete, & so by Warden, till it crosseth the north Tine, and come to Berham, from whence it goeth to Diltan, crossing two waters by the wate, whereof one cometh from by south, and is called the Walth, which holdeth his course by Stelehall, and Hewbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Will somewhat lower descending from Hedleie, and running by Wifong, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Diltan, it goeth to Wywell castell, ouer against which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it halseth to Clittingham, Puddo, William, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Ketton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Dart, from by south.

This ruer riseth about Knareldon, and Knareldon hope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere; and the southerlie the Gwent: and ioining so well per long in charlet as of name, they runne on to Hunterworth; new Biggin, Blankeland, Adon, Asper theles, Blackheadle, Brentfield side, Pantheles, Chobester, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, nere to Blache hall in the bishoprike; it goeth on to Spen, Hollinside, Wiltcham, Swalwell, and into Tine, which passeth from thence by Clitting, and meeting with another water comming from Hunterworth, by Kauenworth castell to Redburgh, it goeth on to Hewcastle, Fellin, Fetherstone, Walker, Wiltown, Hedburne, and next to Jertow or Jertow, where

Alent. Gilders bech.

Knare.

East Alen.

West Alen.

Darwent.

where Beda dwelled in an abbey; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuerse towne resort, as monke Caton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southheles, Barton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Warble, Fellin, Follinsfote, the Heworthes) and from thence to the south and Northheles, and so into the sea, five miles by north-west of Wethermouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbydige, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Petercassell, and hereby both the Coire run, that meeteth per long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Leland gesse that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Coire, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie, for in the life of S. Oswyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbydige is alwaies used for Corbydige, whereof I thought good to leaue this short advertisement. In this countie also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theues or true men do most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddersdale, Ribblesdale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scottis, and without the marches of England, neuertheless, sithens that by the diligence chesellie of maister Gylpin, and finally of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue bene called to some obedience and zeale unto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wilfulness and fierceneesse is qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuillitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue bene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Protonic, writing of the Wether, calleth it Meda, a river well knowne vnto Beda the famous preast, who was brought vp in a monastrie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of three heads in Kelloppeslaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerlie Kellopp, which uniting themselves about S. Johns chapell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Pare, and so to Frosterleie. But per it come there, it receiveth three rilles from the north in Wetherdale, whereof one cometh in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from south-west by Wallop, Bishopleie, Spillhouse, and Landeto, as I haue bene informed. Being therefore united all with the Wether, this streame goeth on to Wallingham, there taking in the Wascropeburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betwene Witton and Witton cassell called Wetherburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this river doth now warre the great. Going therefore from hence, it hatheth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiveth the Garonselle, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland cassell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrews Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Wether which goeth to Newfields, and Wallington. Here vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Wether, crosseth one brooke from southest by Het, Crorleie, Cronefurth, Turndale, and Cordale, and two other from by north-west in one botome, whereof the first cometh from about Ash by Langleie: the other called Coue, from about Kingleie by Newbiggin, Lancheffer, north Langleie,

and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Mel-leie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Wether, betwene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our river goeth on to Hothow, well, Spirkelleie, old Duresme (and there taking in the Hothow brooke by north-east) it goeth to Duresme, Finkleleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie cassell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are united betwene Delton and Whitwell (and after called Hed-leie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Wifferton, Hylton parke, Bishops, Wethermouth, and so into the sea, betwene north Sunderland and north Wethermouth towne, which now is called monke Wethermouth of the monastrie sometime standing there, wherein Beda read & wrote manie of his booke, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Wether is eight miles from Durham, and six from Petercassell. Being thus passed the Wether, & entered into the Bishopricke, per the confluence at the mouth of the Thes, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by cassell Eden, and Hardwicke, and likewise Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in manner of a blynd or peninsula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a river that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by north-west about Hozetons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton; the other at Daulton, going by Baerton, Wetherham, and Grettam, finally joining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

The Thes, a river that beareth and feedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blache lowes, about two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Wether called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Elldale forest; and taking in the Langdon water from north-west it runneth to Durtpit chapell, to Hethbiggin, and so to Spiddleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by south-west that riseth at three severall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lnebecke, and the third by south at Burdop, Sharth hill, and meeting all about Arnegill house, they run together in one botome to Lathekirke bidge, and then into the Thes. Having therefore met with these, it runneth to Spickelton (where taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Kombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander brooke by south-west) and then going to Hozetwood hag, and Hozetwood parke, till it come to Bernards cassell.

Here also it receiveth the Huresgill water comming east of Kere crosse in Hozetshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost south-west, and being united with the Thes, it goeth by Stratford, Eggleston, Kokebie, Hozpe, Wickliffe, Duinton, Winton, and betwene Warfurth and Gainsfurth meeteth with another rill, that cometh from Langleie forest, betwene Kable cassell and Stanmore, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The Thes being past Kamforth, runneth betwene Hethby and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crosss bidge taketh in the Sherne a prettie water, which riseth about Crimdon, and goeth by Fithburne, Wadburie, Hethby, Hazon, Skirmingham, the Burtons, Houghton and Darlington, & there finally meeting with the Cocke becke or Dure, it falleth in the Thes beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crosss bidge, and (as it should seeme) is the same which Leland calleth Grettie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunleie, Spiddleton towne, Heththam, Harne (crossing a brooke from Leuen bidge) called Leuen or Lewins in Latine, whose crinkling

Coire.

Wether.
Burdop.
Wallop.
Kellopp.

Wascrope.

Wetherburne.

Hothow
brooke.
Duresme.

Thes.

Hude.

Lune.
Arnegill.

Skirkwith.
Bander.

Kere crosse.

Sherne.

A.ij. course

Thorp alias
Leland.

Crawthorne.

Elke.

Ybur.

course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner.

The Thorpe riseth of sundrie brads, whereof one is aboute Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Bonnethorpe, and so to Stokeleide. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betwene them both: finally, meeting beneath Castile they go by Caton, and likewise unto Stokeleide. The last hath also two branches, whereof one cometh from Inglesbie, and meeteth with the second beneath Broughston; a going from thence to Stokeleide, they meet with the Thorpe about the towne, the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Kildale, and there taketh in another rill coming from Dotto; thence to Cratw Thorpe brooke, Laxton, Pilton, Wilt, Inglesbie, and so into the Hese; betweene Harne and Waw, wye, where of I made mention before. After this confluence our Hese hasteth on to Warwicke, Pres Den, Thorpe abbey, and Argham, which standeth on the south east side of the river almost betwene the falled of two waters, whereof one descendeth from West Hartburne by long Helton, Elton, & Stokefort, the other from Whillington, or Whilkington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackstone, Whillingham, and Porton. From Argham finally it goeth to Bellas, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this river speaketh of the Wike, which should come thereinto from by south under Wike bridge, by Danbie, and Northallerton, and should joine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certain place where to beflow the same.

Part of all we come unto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboute Hutton, goeth by Gifford, and there receiveth another streame coming from by Southall, and then continuing on his course, it is not long, yet it fall into the sea. The next is the Sealing water, which descendeth from Sealing towne, from whence we come to the Spolemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Polgrane castle: then to Sandford crake, and next of all to Elke mouth, which riseth aboute Danbie wood, and so goeth to Carleton, there meeting by the waie with another rill coming from aboute Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on together by Armar and Abate castle, till they joine with another water: above Glasdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Godland ward, and likewise the Ybur, and so go on without any further increase by Walsworth, yet long into the sea.

There is also a crake on each side of Robin Whodes baie, of whose names and courses I have no skill, saving that Fillingale the towne doth stand betwene them both. There is another not far from Scarborough, on the north side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Hunnison, and some after meeting with another rill on the south west, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborough to Widdlington, by Flainborough head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Widdlington, riseth at Dugglesbie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Welperthorpe, Butterwicke, Bosthorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth by againe at Kaddon) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Widdlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurre head, I made yet long with a river that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wisked, from thence to another that cometh by Rolfe, Haltham, Carningham: then to the third, which riseth aboute Humbleton, and goeth to Eftewic, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Spout-

leie, goeth by Wiltton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Westete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will but describe also here, and then crosse over unto the fourth the Hore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Bilham, from whence it goeth to Lethorpe crake, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the north side, coming from about Lisset; the second on the north west, banke from Passerton; the third from Emmeswell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which joine beneath little Duffield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run unto the maine river both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Westete, to Godale house, and then taking in a water from Harnesie mere, it goeth on through Beverlie meadows, by Marron, Stoneferrie, Well, and finally into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Petherwicke, by Whilstone, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluer-ton, I saie no more, for it is enough to name them in their order.

The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as do increase his chanell.

Chap. 15.



There is no river called Humber from the head. Wherefore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abte, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouse, as be-
side Leland sundrie ancient writers have noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Ouse or Ocellus even to the Duke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humberus or Amar, a king of the Scythians, who invaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularlie provided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilst he attempted to save himselfe by hastening to his ships (such was the praise of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessel, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned together in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath bene called Humber, as our writers saie; and where of I find these verses:

*Dum fugit obstat ei flumen salmurgitur illic,
Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aque.*

This river in old time parted Lhoegres or Eng-land from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the pongest sonne of Bute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres have bene so enlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Tweede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betwene us and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must needs begin with the Ouse, whose water bringeth forth a verie sweet, fat and delicate samon, as I have bene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south and

and south-west coasts & rivers of our land, whereof I may take occasion to speake more at large hereafter.

Ure alids
Dyze, or Iles.

The Ure therfore riseth in the furthest parts of all Richmonshire, among the Coterine hilles, in a mosse, toward the west fourtene miles beyond Speldham. Being therfore issued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardjale, Hattshouse, Butterfide, Askibridge, which Leland calleth the Askaran, and saith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obscure bridges; then to Askarth, through Wanlesse parke, Wensleie bridge (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwin, parson of Winstan) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Gerulle abbeye, Clifton and Spatham. When it is come to Spatham, it receiveth the Burne, by south-west (as it did the Wille, from beriedape (carrie rocks, before at Askaran) and diverse other wild rilles not woorthie to be remembred. From Spatham, it hasteth unto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by south-west) then to another Tanfield, to Petton hall, and Northbridge, at the higher end of Rippon, and so to Huikes bridge. But ver it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the same, they run as one to Thrope, then to Albozow, and some after receive the Swale.

Burne
rille.

Skell.

Swale.

Here (saith Leland) I am brought into no little Awe, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iles and Ure, for some saie that the Iles and the Ure do meet at Bozowbridge, which to me doth seeme to be verie unlikelie, sith Iurium taketh his denomination of Iles and Vro, for it is often saie that the lesse rivers do mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamesis and other is easie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Ure after his passage under Bozowbridge, but onelie of Iles or the Dyze in these daies, although in old time it held unto Poike it selfe, which of the Ure is true I called Ure-woie (or Poike thort) or else my persuasion doth faile me. I have red also Cwerwoie and Pozwic. But to proceed, and leave this superfluous discourse.

Fosse.

Dyze.

Hull or
Hulne.

From Bozowbridge, the Dyze goeth to Aldborough, and receiving the Swale by the waie (to Aldwoke, taking in Alburne water, from the south-west, then to Linton upon Dyze, to Petton upon Dyze, and to Punketun, meeting with the Aid per long, and so going withall to the Redhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Poike (where it crosseth the Fosse) to Foulforth, Spolethorpe, Acaffer, & Acaffer, Keldat, Walehall, Warelebie, Helbie, Turmonhall, Skurtball, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Rednesse, Whitgift, Allet, Blacketoff, Forstet, Brownstet, and so into Humber.

The course of the Dyze being thus described, and as it were simple without his influences, now will I touch such rivers as fall into the same also by themselves, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voyage from the Kauensturne, untill I come nere to the head of these, & so southwards about & againe by the bottome of the hillie soile untill I get to Worsdon, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie south point of Humber mouth, whereby I shall crosse them all that are to be found in this walke, & leave (I doubt) some especiall notice of their severall heads and courses. The course of the Hull, a streame abounding with sturgeon and lampreie, as also the rivers which have their issue into the same, being (as I say) already described, I thinke it not amisse, as by the waie to set downe what Leland saith thereof, to the end that his travell shall not altogether be lost in this behalfe; and so that it is thort, and hath one or two things woorthie to be remembred contained in the same.

The Hulne (saith he) riseth of three severall heads, whereof the greatest is not far from Diefeld, now

a small village sixtene miles from Hull. Certes it hath bene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbricht king of the Northumbers, and place of sepulture of Alfred the noble king sometime of that nation, who died there 727, the ninetene Cal. of Julie, the twentieth of his reigne, and whose tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I do know) to the contrarie with an inscription upon the same written in Latine letters. Nere unto this towne also is the Danefeld, wherein great numbers of Danes were slaine, and buried in thre hils, which yet remaine there to be seene over their bones and carcases. The second head (saith he) is at Cethorne, and the thirde at Cimmelswell, and meeting all together not farre from Diefeld, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I have said already.

From hence also it goeth through Beuerleie meadows, and coming at the last not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great vessels) almost to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or stood in Diefeld, untill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the first doctor or teacher of divinitie that ever was in Orford, and (as it should seeme also by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hofell where the universitie college now standeth; & therfore they wisse him, sometime fellow of that house) began to be of same, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as some affirme) to this daie. In deed all the countrie betwene the Diefeld and the Humber was sometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in respect of the higher soile, but now it is named the east Riding. But what is this to my purpose? The Hulne therfore being come almost to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout also with the Cottingham becke coming from Westwood by the waie, it hasteth to Kingston upon Hulne or Hull, and so into the Humber without anye manner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fofolneie riseth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareswell, Scton, Williams bridge, and some after spreading it selfe, one arme called Skeldat goeth by Cane Catwisc to Fofolneie and so into the Dyze. The other passeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chapel, Blacketoff, and so into the aforesaid Dyze, leaving a verie pretty Island, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwile obscure to us that dwell here in the south.

Fofolneie.

Skeldat.

The Darwent riseth in the hilles that lie west of Robin Rhodes baie, or two miles about Aiton bridge, west from Scarbozow as Leland saith; and ver it hath run farre from the head, it receiveth two rilles in one bottome from by west, which soine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go together to Boreie, and at Hacknesse take in another water coming from about Silseie. Afterward it cometh to Aiton, then to Halbridge, and there crosseth the Benford that descendeth from Robertston. After this also it goeth on to Poterthumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shitburne, and the thirde yet lower on the further banke, that descendeth from Wumton. From these confluences it runneth to Fofolbridge, Arbridge, Woldingham bridge, & so to Cotehouse, receiving by the waie manie waters, & yielding great plentie of delicate samons to such as fish upon the same. Leland reckoning by the names of the severall brookes, numbrieth them confusedlie after his accustomed order. The Darwent (saith he) receiveth diverse streames, as the Shitburnton. The second is the Crambecke, descending from Hunderthell castell (so called *Tantum a centum fontibus*, or multitude of springs

Darwent.

Benford.

Shitburnton.
Crambecke.

Rie.
Ricoll.
Seuen.
Colfeie.
Pickering.

springes that rise about the same) and goeth to the, which comming out of the Blackemoze, passeth by Riuers abbete, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Colfeie, and Pickering broke. The Seuen also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoze, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer the goeth into the streame. The Colfeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called held head, and goeth into the the two miles beneath Pickering, about kirbie munder. Finally, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoze, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Colfeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill of two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Wither to Leland. But in mine opinion, it had bene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first cometh from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Ellerton, the fourth from Thonneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that cometh thither from Winttringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

Pocklington.

Rie.

Colfeie.

Seuen.

Don of
Dunc.
Hodgebecke.

Ricoll.

Felle.

Holbecke.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & per the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the the, which riseth of two heads, and joining west of Lodon they run through Clankie parke. Finally, receiuing the Colfeie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the falls of six waters and more per it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoze, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Parton, Rozmanbie, Newfound, How, and so into the the. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemoze, and descending by Kalmoze, Heldon and Edston (where it receiue the Hodgebecke, that cometh by Bernedale, Kirkeedale, & Melburne) it goeth to Salton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ricoll (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seme to take the name. Then Felle, which riseth aboue Wilsdale chappell, and meeteth with the the at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go together vnder the the bridge, to Kins abbete, and thence (after it hath crooked a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Hewton, Spinton, and so to Salton or Sawton, as I do find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke broke, that cometh thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Wabie, next into the Seuen, then into the the, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that cometh thereinto from Crinton to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Spalton and Spalton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but six pence, carie a waie whilest you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this cometh from Burdall, that othier from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Dowlham bridge (crossing by the waie an other broke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Ffalon) then to Aldbie, Buttercrum (alias Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubbwith, Wreissil, Babbthorpe, and so into the Duze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to

let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an armie ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarboroze, till such time as two hills betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke by his course.

The Felle (a slow streame yet able to beare a good felle bestell) riseth in *Nemore Calateris*, that is, Calters wood or Calwood, among the wooddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Parton abbete, Parton, Stillington, Farlington, Colwithorpe, Criswic, Huntingdon, & at Pothe into the Duze. The the riseth flat north at Hewton, from whence it goeth by Thonneton on the hill, Kuskell parke, A lone, Ellerton, and so into the Duze about Hewton vpon Duze. The the is a right noble river, & march in some places betwene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkeedale, and from this towne it goeth to Belde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whittefide, and nere vnto Palen taketh in the Barneie water, which cometh from the north east. Thence it goeth by Harroside to Keth (where it meeteth with the Arleie) and so to Flemington, Crinton, Parrike (taking in the Holgate that cometh from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Parrike becke, or peradventure Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Calste and Buntost.

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Here by north it interteth two or thre waters in one channell, called Kauenstwasch water, whereof the two furthest do soine not farre from the Dabbltons, and so go by Kauenstwasch, Partworth, Gilling, and at Skebie met with the third, comming from Richmond beacontward. By west also of Buntton, the the meeteth with the the, running from Keldale, and being past Buntton, it goeth to Cateris bridge beneath Buntton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Whirtoft, Anderbie streple: and befoze it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall broke, alias Lemings becke, that cometh west of Kellirbie, by Constable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Spatobie, & at Wakenbirie receiue the Wilske, which is a great water, rising betwene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbete in another; and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betwene the Rughons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birbie, Hutton Confers, Danbie, Wilske, Passford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Buntton Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otterington, Hewton, Kirbie Wilske, Hewton, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the the, that runneth fro thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and aboue Eldonice meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Catodebec: the south easterlie Bebecke, which soine est of Thonneton moze, and so go to Thonneton in the street, Kilington, Thruske, Solwerbie, Crastwic, and some after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Wilske, and likewise of the Cuckewold becke, which soine aboue Bzidoforth, and running on till it come almost at Sawton, it maketh confluence with the the, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thonneton bridge, Pitton vpon the the, and so into the Duze.

The the riseth out of the west two miles from Fountaines abbete, and cometh (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Rippon, as the the doth on the other. And on the bankes herof stood the famous abbete called Fountaines or Fontes, so much renowned for the lastie monks that sometimes

Felle

the

Swale

Barneie

Arleie

Holgate.
Parrike
becke.

Kauenstwasch

the

Bedall alias
Leming

Wilske

Catodebec
Bebecke

Cuckewold
becke

Shell

Lauer.

Sometimes dwelled in the same. It receiveth also the Lauer water (which riseth thre miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall nere unto Rippon) and finally falleth into the Aire, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon towne, & almost midwaie betwene the Forth and Harnicke bridges.

Ride.

The Ride, which the booke of Statutes called Nidder (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be enriched with fozze of samon, as are also the Wheef and Aire, riseth among those hilles that lie by west north-west of Gnarefborow, five miles about Wakeleie bridge, and going in short processe of time by Westhouses, Lodgehouses, Woodhall, Petowhouses, Polesmoze, Kaunsgill, Colowhouse, Colowhall, Bureleie, Wymham, Hampeswale, and some after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Wiltton parke, Gnarefbridge, Washford, Catthall, Willefthorpe, Punketon, or Ponmoeke, and so into the Duze, foureteene miles beneath Gnarefborow, being increased by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenance. Leland having said thus much of the Ride, addeth hereunto the names of two other waters, that is to saie, the Couer and the Burne, which do fall likewise into the Aire or Duze. But as he saith little of the same, so among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the first riseth six miles about Couerham by west, and falleth into the Aire, a little beneath Spideham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riseth at Pore hilles, and falleth into the said river a little beneath Spasham bridge. And so much of these two.

Killingale.

Couer.
Burne.

wharfe aliis
Gwerfe.

The Wharfe or Gwerfe ariseth about Lightershaw, from whence it runneth to Weggerrimons, Rosenill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniffon in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill coming from Halcogill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and joining withall north-east of Killeseie crag, it passeth over by the lower grounds to Gillington, and receiveth a rill there also from Treffeld parke, it proceedeth on to Brunfall bridge. Furthermoze at Applethorpe, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Warden towne, Bolton, Beth and Giffle hall, where it crosseth a rill coming from by west, thence to Addingham, taking in there also another from by west, and so to Wakeleie, and receiveth per long another by north from Denton hall, it passeth to Welfton Manafour, Oseleie, and Letheseleie, where it taketh in the Paddise, & the Washburne (both in one streame from Lindale ward) and thence to Calfele chappell, and there it crosseth one from by north, and another per long from by south, and so to Pardwood castell, Kerebte, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Petoton, Eadcaster, and when it hath received the Cocksbecke from south-west, that goeth by Bartwile, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Crimston, it runneth to Orton, Kirbie Wharfe, Wskell, Kither, Punapleton, & so into the Duze beneath Calwood, a castell belonging to the archbishop of Yorke, where he useth oft to lie when he refresheth himselfe with change of aire and shift of habitation, for the avoiding of such infection as may otherwise ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his house.

Paddise.
washburne.

Cocksbecke.

Aire.

The Aire or Arre riseth out of a lake or ferme south of Darnbroke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fish but red trout, and perch. Leland saith it riseth nere unto Dytton in Crauen, wherefore the ood is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Spawlam, Hamkith, Kirbie, Goldale, Calton hall, Arton, and so forth till it come almost to Gargraue, there crossing the Otterburne water on the west, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flodden

Otterburne.
waterburne.

ceiveth a rill from Helton, as I heare. Being past Gargraue, our Aire goeth on to Elton, Elwood, and so forth on, first receiveth a brooke from south-west (whereof one branch cometh by Sparton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Woughton) then another from north-east, that runneth by Skip-ton castell. After this confluence it passeth by manifold windleses, which caused thirtene bridges at the last to be over the same within a little space, to Petobiggin, Wadaleie, and Kildwisse, by south east whereof it meeteth with one water from Spawls, and Glusburne or Glukesburne, called Clike; another likewise a little beneath from Seton, beside two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Keddlesden, and over against this towne the Lacoche and the Wozth do meet withall in one chanell, as the Poreton water doth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Whence it goeth to Kithforth hall, and so to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shippeleie, and there crossing another from Thorneton, Leuenhorpe, and Wadaleie, it goeth to Calverleie, to Chiffall, and so to Lades, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by south in one chanell, whereof the first hath two armes, of which the one cometh from Pudleie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made about Farnesleie hall. The other likewise hath two heads, whereof one is about Poreleie, the other cometh from Doringleie, and meeting with the first not far south-west of Lades, they fall both into the Aire, and so run with the same to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke south of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ellerton, Castleford, Wotherton & Ferrisbridge, there receiveth the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riseth of divers heads, whereof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hoddleleie, Templehirst, Cotwold, Snath, Kewcliffe, Petwland, Armie, and so into the Duze with an indifferent course. Of all the rivers in the north, Leland (in so manie of his bookes as I have sene) saith least of this. Mine annotations also are verie slender in the particular waters wherebie it is increased: wherefore I was compelled of necessity to conclude even thus with the description of the same, and had so left it in ded, if I had not received one other note moze to ad unto it (even when the leafe was at the presse) which saith as followeth in manner word for word.

Clike.

Lacoche.
Wozth.
Poreton.

Redwell.
Went.

Wetherbie.

There is a noble water that falleth into Aire, whose head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Cresson chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiveth one rill nere Elfrabright bridge, and also the Hedden by north-west, it goeth to Breatleie hall, and so taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eastward by Soxbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from south-west) and so to Copeleie hall. Beneath this place I find also that it receiveth one rill from Hallifax, which riseth from two heads, and two other from south-west, of which one cometh by Baresland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforesaid water goeth on toward Cotford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles above the same on the north side, so beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretty armie increased by thirtene waters coming from by south, as from Parthorpe chappell, from Holmeborough chappell, and Kithke Peton, each one growing of summe heads, whereof I would saie moze, if I had moze intelligence of their severall gates and passages. But to proceed: From Cotford bridge it runneth to Spunfeld, and receiveth per long one rill from Leuerlage hall, and another from Warkhall by Dewsburie, it goeth on north-east of Thornethull, south

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Chald.

south of Horbitie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Collier by new Millner Dam, and some after another from north-west, called Chald, rising in the Deke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from south-east, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warrmesfield, Hewland, Alstotes, and finally into the Aire, west of Cowslworth, as I learne. What the name of this river should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no marvel that I do not set it downe, yet is it certaine that it is called Chald, after his confluence with the Chald, and finally Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Aire or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head: It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer untill another time.

Trent.

The Trent is one of the most excellent rivers in the land, not onely for store of salmon,urgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it doth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onely cause it may be compared either with the Duze or Sauerne, I meane the second Duze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moze, and from thence goeth to Hilston abbacie, Bucknell church, and aboute Stoke rectory in the Foulke wake water, which cometh thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finally making a confluence they go to Hunslet, where they meet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Hewcastle vnder L. line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieing: that it riseth in the hils aboute Hewcastle, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulke wake.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riveret from north-east, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burton, the Sandons and Welton, a little aboute Shubburne & Halwood, it receiveth the Soto, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leaving the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Soto descendeth from the hilles, aboute Whitmore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Statone, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by north-east that cometh from bishopps Offeleie, Egleshall, Cheshire, Rauntan, Ellington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboute Pigleton, & Berwood, & aboute Penke bridge uniteth it selfe with another coming from Knightleie ward, by Chas. hall church, Eaton: and so going forth as one, it is not long per they fall into Soto, after they haue passed Draiton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banstwich, where losing their names, they with the Soto & the Soto with them do ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, upon the southerlie bankes.

Soto.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dulleie bridge, and another south of Kiddleleie) thence by Halwathrie, Hauestane, Kidware, and so toward Porball, where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this boiage. Of these therefore the lesser cometh in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brookes, whereof the first riseth in Redwood forest, north-east of Haggerleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamstead Kidware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Chatleie moze, aboute Welton Conie, and thence going to the same topine, it cometh to Walscote, also Diacote, Wainleie, Cratwithe, Grimleie, Almasson, Hamstead, Kidware, and finally into the Trent, directly west of Porball, which runneth also

Blith.

from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blache water coming from Southton and Richfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Dettelhall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Birchall and Blimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them coming from Dipton, the other from Alloburie, and so running as one by Wedbarie till they fall into the same. The latter cometh from Wolsfhal, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Somerbyke ward: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Ribbe, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finally the Cole, whose head is in the forest by Kingesnoxtan wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forest by Kingesnoxtan wood, and going by Parelle and Kingesbyrst, it meeteth betwene that and the parke, with a water running betwene Helmedon and Shelton.

Thence it passeth on to Colethull, by east where of it ioineth with a brooke, mounting south-west of Colthull called Blith, which going by Bentwood and Warston, crosseth on each side of Temple Balsall, a rill, whereof one cometh thorough the Quenes parke or chace that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castle it selfe, from about Walsleie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Colethull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, uniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water coming from Anleie on the east) and some after on the other doth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Ribbe, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For as in Græke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onely to flow. Leland nameth the Blimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is a bone possession, so that his course should be by Kingesnoxtan, Blimicham, Wodston hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Le. Kingesbyrie parke, and going by east of Draiton, Walslet parke, to Falsheleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also coming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Walslet parke, whereof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Camthorpe, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered: unto me.

It riseth aboute Burton, from whence it goeth by Donneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Per long also it taketh in a water from north-east, which cometh by Hoglefote, Shapton, Cunston, Walscote (uniting it selfe with a water from Walsworth) Kestcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crandon, Doleworth, Armington, Camthorpe, & so into Tame, that hathest to Walsworth, Camberford hall, Telford, and some after crossing a rill that riseth west of Walsworth hall, and cometh by Feslirike, it runneth not farre from Exorhall, and so to Catton, the reabont receiuing his last increase not moze to be omitted. This brooke is named Apele, and it riseth in the great parke, that lieth betwene Walsworth, and Somerbyke, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Pelham, and Somerton, and thereabout crossing

Tame.

Ribbe.
Cole.

Blith.

Burne.

Ribbe.

Anchor.

Apele.

ing a rill about Petherfale grange, from Over-
sale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croy-
all, into the Thaine, and both out of hand into the
maine river a mile about Kepton. Leland writing
of this river (as I earst noted) saith thereof in this
wise. Into the Thaine also runneth the Bzenicham
brooke, which riseth foure or five miles about Bzen-
icham in the Blache hills in Worcester shire, and go-
eth into the aforesaid water a mile about Crud-
worth brdge. Certes (saith he) this Bzenicham is a
towne maintained chieflie by smiths, nailers, cut-
lers, edge tole forgers, lozimers or bitmakers, which
haue their iron out of Stafford and Warwick shires,
and coles all out of the first countie. Whitherto Le-
land. Now to resume the Trent, which being grow-
en to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drake-
low, and there crossing a water that commeth by
Pewbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winthill,
Wightmere, and Pewton Souch, where it recei-
ueth two chanel within a short space, to be described
apart.

Don. The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it ri-
seth about the thre shires mére, and is as it were
limes betwene Stafford and Darbithires, untill it
come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the
head, it goeth by Carleboth, Willburie grange,
Partington, Wollicot, Eaton, Huntingdon grange,
Manifold. and above Thope receiueth the Manifold water, so
called, because of the sundrie crinckling rills that it
receiueth, and turnagaines that it selfe getteth be-
fore it come at the Don. Rising therefore not farre
from the edge crosse (in the bottome thereby) it run-
neth from thence to Longmore, Shene, Warlow
chappell, and Melton. Beneath Melton also it ta-
keth in the Hansele water, that commeth out of
Hansele. Blackemore hilles to Watersfall, where it falleth in-
to the ground: and afterward mounting againe is
referred into the Manifold, north of Whowlesie (as I
heare) which goeth from thence to Ham, and above
Thope doth cast it selfe into Don. Having therefore
met together after this manner, the Dou proceedeth on
to Waplington, beneath which it crosseth one water
descending from Waddington by Fennie Bentleie,
and another somewhat lower that commeth from
Horton hall by Hognaston and Ashburne, and then
going to Watterfield, Parburie, Ellaston, Kewston
Churne. Kewston, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to
be described before I go anie further. It riseth a good
waie above Delacasse abbie, and comming thither
by Pellsbie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmere, be-
Dunsmere. twene Harracasse and Leike.

Thence it goeth to the Malgrange, and a little
beneath receiueth the Pendor that commeth from a-
bout Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing cros-
sed the Alghenbirt brooke about Cnutes hall, it run-
neth by Wyton, Froggall, Below hill, Alton castell,
Prestwood, and at Kowcester falleth into the Don,
which yet long also receiueth a rill from Crowden,
and then going to Eton meeteth first with the Leine
that commeth thither from each side of Cheddle by
Leinetowne, Wambyrill and Stranehill. Secondlie
with the Wincester or Wtoreter water, and then go-
Wtoreter or Wincester. ing on to Warchington, Slobberie, Catwilton, it cros-
seth a brooke from Woburner college, by Saperton.
From this confluence in like sort it passeth forth to
Elbert castell, Sparston, and at Eberington meeteth
with the water that commeth from Pelberleie by
Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth
from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters be-
ing thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one,
the Don it selfe falleth per long likewise into the
Trent, about Pewton Souch. So that the maine
river being thus enlarged, goeth on wards with his
course, and betwene Willington and Kepton mee-

seth with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that
which falleth in by Willington, riseth nere Dabobe-
rie Nies, and runneth by Traffelle and Alhe: the o-
ther that entereth about Kepton, descendeth from
Harteburne, so that the Trent being past these, ha-
seth to Wifford, Angletie, Staunton, Welfon,
Pewton, and Alton, yet long also meeting with the
Darwent; next of all to be dispatched. The Dar-
went, or to use the verie British word) Dorn; gwinne
(but in Latine *Fluvius Derwentanus*) riseth plaine
well nere unto the edge of Darbithire, above
Blackwell a market towne, and from the head run-
neth to the Pew chappell, within a few miles after it
be risen. From hence moreover it goeth by Howden
house, Darwent chappell, Poxethire brdge, and at
Wiffham brdge doth crosse the Hene or Housins
that commeth from Pewkole hill, by Petherburgh,
Hope (crossing there one rill from Castellon, ano-
ther from Bradwell, and the third at Hathersage,
from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Pableie,
Stochekhall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by
west, to Stonie Middleton, and Wallow, and hauing
here taken in the Burbroke on the one side, and an-
other from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chat-
worth and to Kowseleie, where it is increased with
the Wile comming from by west, and also a rill on
the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wile
before I go anie further.

The Wile riseth above Burston well, and there
is increased with the Hawkeholme, and the Wile
brooke, whose heads are also further distant from the
edge of Darbithire than that of Wile, and races som-
what longer, though neither of them be worthy to be
accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads,
the one of them is not farre about the place where
Wilebecke abbie stood, the other is further off by
west, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie joining
in one they runne to Cuckene village, where recei-
uing a becke that commeth downe from by west, it
holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the se-
cond rill, and so resort to Kufford, or the Panbecke.
Unto this also doe other two rills repaire, whereof the
one goeth through and the other hard by Paunfield,
of which two also this latter riseth west about foure
miles, and runneth forth to Clifton (thre miles
lower) and so likewise to Kufford, whereof I will
speake hereafter. In the meane time to returne a-
gaine to the Wile. From Burston well, it runneth
to Staddon, Colwale, Colwale, Pew meadow, Wiff-
houses, Wankelwell, and Waddon hall, beneath which
it receiueth the Lathkell, that runneth by Duerhad-
don, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they
be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the first great
water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being
therefore past the Kowlesies, the said Darwent go-
eth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wensleie,
Smitterton hall, and at Hatlocke taketh in a rill by
notheast, as it doth another at Crumford that go-
eth by Botelhall.

From Hattocke, it proceedeth to Watson,
or Watford, Welf brdge, Albertwas, and so ineth
with another streame called Amber comming in
from by north by Amber brdge, whose description
shall insue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Am-
ber is about Chelston hall, or (as Leland saith) est of
Chesterfield, and comming from thence by Middle-
ton to Ogston hall, it taketh withall another brooke,
descending from Hardwicke wood, by Alton and
Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Wackenfield,
and about Dale brdge meeteth with a brooke run-
ning from Bucknallward to Shireland parke side,
there crossing the Horeton becke, and so to Alforton,
except I name it wrong. From Dale brdge it go-
eth by Wingfield, to Hedger, Fritchlin, and so into
Dar-

Egglebarn.

Shore, or
Shur.

Etc.

Leland collecteth
one of these
rilles Croco.warke, Marke,
or wyeke.

Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanwicke by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a rill coming from Porleie parke: thence to Spakenie, and at Duffeld, receiveth the Eggleburne, which ariseth about Wikesthwaite or Weshworth, but in the same parish out of a rocke, and cometh in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradfall, Darleie abbey, and at Darbie taketh in a rill coming from Spickashon by Welfon underwood, Kiddleston and Perton. If a man should say that Darwent river giveth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peradventure thereby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beleue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them. With my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thympton taketh in the Soze, a faire streame, and not worthy to be ouerpas-

sed. It riseth in Leicestershire about Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharnford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that cometh by Dounton and Broughton Aisleie. Thence to Parleborow, and before it come to Eton, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winkston, Kirbie and Blabie) then to Leicestershire towne, Belgrave, Burfall, Manlip, and per it come at Cuslington or Coston, crosseth the Cie, which riseth nere Orcam about Brampton, going by Knabstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitforden, and beneath (a litle) receiveth a rill on the right hand from Coldnopton. Thence to Stapleford, & some after crossing a brooke from about Sporton, Colson, Garthorpe and Sarpie, it runneth to Wierbie, Wentingbie; and per it come at Pilton, meeteth with two other small rilles, from the right hand whereof one cometh from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Wold; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Peltton goeth by Sisonbie, there meeting with another from north-east over against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Cie is changed into Marke or Marke, and so continueth until it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Afterbie, Kadgale, Habie, Trussington, Katchiffe; and some after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in number, whereof one cometh from Dueson, by Twiford, Ashbie, and Gadeslute; another from Loschie, by Baggrau, and Crowson, and joining with the first at Duennihow, it is not long per they fall into the Marke. The second runneth from Engarbie, by Barkleie, and Sison. But the third and greatest of the thre, is a chanel increased with thre waters, whereof one cometh from Porton by Burton, Kirbie, Fosson and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Aisleie, and meeting with the third from Sapcote, and from Staunton, they run togither by Parborow, and some after joining about Eton, with the first of the thre, they go as one by Eton to Leicestershire, Belgrave, Manlip, and about Cullington do fall into the Marke, and some after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sozrell, & taking in another brooke south-west from Leicestershire forest, by Glenfield, Anstie, Hurcaston and Kodelie, joineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sozrell, and Dunsendon (where it taketh in a water coming from Charnelwood forest, and goeth by Biadegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Luggborough and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Nottinghamshire by north-east; and some after another from south-west, coming from Braceden to

Shepeshew, Carrington, & Digblye grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Dillworth, long Whetton, and Wathorne. Finally, after these confluences, it passeth to Sutton, Kingston, and Katchiffe, and so into the Trent.

These things being thus brought togither, and we now resuming the discourse of the same river, it doth after his meeting with the Soure, proceed with all to Barton, where it taketh in the Crivall, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selsdon, Mansbie, Codnor castell, Ecton, and crossing a water from Beuall, runneth to Colshall, Crowell (and there taking in another rill coming from Penno; by Shipley) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Clifton, and per it come at Willford, it meeteth with a brooke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnic and Rodington, and thence to Nottingham, where it crosseth the Aine, which riseth above Petersted; and passing by Papplewicke, Hucknall, Bafford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farmdon, where it brancheth and maketh an Island, and into the smaller of them goeth a brooke from Beuer castell, which rising betwene east Well and Eaton in Leicestershire is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Brampton to Knipston, & beneath Knipston meeteth with a brooke that cometh by west of Croxton, and thence holdeth on with his course, betwene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Bottesworth, Pormanton, Kilmington, Shilton, there receiuing the Suite from by south (whose head is nere Clauston, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Walton, Wison, and Flareborow) and per long another coming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Retwarke castell, and so to Wintorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme to Cromwell (and some after taking in a brooke coming from Willthorpe, by Kersall, Catwinton, Pothwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on each side, whereof one cometh from Porehouse by Welfon & Gresshorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bosthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Pelton, Kettlethorpe, Eozkeleie, Knash, Gainsborough, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leaving Arholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogoske water out of the Ile, and so goeth forth to Willthorpe, Calferrie, Frustoor, Burringham, Gunmets, Hurburgh, Burton, Walscote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Doue by the waite, which for his noblenesse is not to be ouerpasse, especially for that Anno 1536 Hen. 8, 28, it was (by Gods providence) a state of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betwene the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell should haue bene stricken, and without any apparent cause (a little shewre of raine excepted farre impossible upon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said river arose so high, & ran with such vehemence, that on the morow the armies could not loine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification ensued, and those countreies were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description herof is not to be ouerpasse, because of the fine grasse which groweth upon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a proverbe upon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better fed on Doue banks: that maketh it all so the more famous.

The Doue therefore riseth in Pothelshire among the Peke hills, and having receiued a water coming by Ingblithworth (where the colour thereof is verie

Crawth,

Dene,

Suite,

A miracle,

Doue,

verie

Bishop.

Cotwile.

Kother.

Yber.
Wampton.

Crawleie.

Gunno.

Weslebyoke.

Wampall.

verie blacke) it goeth to Pennistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Drifping to Thurgoland, and some after (joining by the waie with the Bishop water, that runneth by Bishop chappell, and himselfe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowdlerston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bydge, and at Alurton receiveth the Wadfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffield castell (by east whereof it receiveth a byoke from by south that commeth through Sheffield parke.) Thence it proceedeth to Westford bydge, Bykshie bydge; and south west of Timbleie receiveth the Cotwileie streame that runneth by Ecclefield. Next of all it goeth to Kotheram, where it meeteth with the Kother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbielshire about Wilsleie, from whence it goeth under the name of Doleie, till it come at Kotheram, by north Wilsfield church, Wingerworth, and Fozeland hall, twelue miles from Kotheram, to Chesserford, where it meeteth with the Yber, and Wampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one channell. Thence it runneth to Lupton castell, and per long crossing one water comming from Wonesfeld by Wittington on the one side, and the second from above Wirmington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and some after meeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwicke, and going by Stanesbie and Woodhouse, it receiveth above Petherhorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlbors hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Kother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Wilsleie hill) and so to Kilmarch, in the confines of Darbielshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Woughton, uniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledes, called Weslebyoke, which divideth Pokeshire from Darbielshire, and so runneth to Tretton, Whilston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Kotheram, where it meeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yielding plentie of samon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Altwake, Swaiton, Perburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next describe, and stae with the Doue, untill I have finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Betton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Calthorne united of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Dax, where it toucheth with a water from south west, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Spothobow, it uniteth it selfe with a faire river, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Perburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Spothobow, to Warnesworth, Doncaster, Wheatleie (there meeting with the Wampall creeke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Wamwith ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finally into Trent, and so into the Humber.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie delivered me as I looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Spaunfield, five miles from Kuford abbey, and when the streame commeth nere the abbey, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake.

After this it commeth againe into a narrow channell, and so goeth on to Kuford village, carrying the Bubbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a meetlie long course, it goeth to Bawtric or Bawtrie, a market towne in Spottinghamshire, five miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Kuford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth unto Southwell milles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

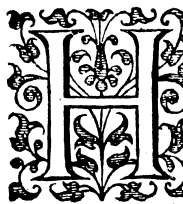
The Idle, which some call Wier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Spaunfield, Clifton & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forest, one mile north of Wledworth, and runneth on by Kuford abbey, till it come to Allerton. The foresters call this Spanbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this manner. Spanbyoke riseth somewhere about Linthirke wood, from whence it goeth to Wilsheope, and so to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle having taken in the Spanbecke, it runneth to Bothomfall, by Woughton, & Werlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Speding Paiden, or Spidding byoke, which rising about Teuerfall, goeth to Bleasleie, Fettleworth, Sawcan, Warfop, Wublie, Thurbie, Bothomfall, and so into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Woughton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Willie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Poymenton, Cliffe, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Wdfall, Kelford, Wollam, Wilsleie, Patterseie abbey, and so to Bawtrie, where it meeteth another from the three Dikes, that riseth about Gelford, passeth on to Woklop (or Kadfurth) Overton, Wilsleie, and Wilsleie, there uniting it selfe with three rilles in one bottom, whereof one commeth from Walsdingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Wilsleie towne, another from by west Furbecke three miles, and so to Wilsleie: but the third out of the White water nere to Wilsleie, and there being united they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

From hence it runneth on to Spissen, to Sadlers bydge, and next of all to Santost, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Kofington bydge, Wampton, Kilsbolme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santost into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finally, uniting the Idle of Archolme, it goeth unto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Willie, Wile, or Wullie (as some write it) saith thus thereof. The Willie hath two heads, whereof one is not farre above the place where Wilsbecke abbey stand; the other riseth further off by west about Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finally joining in one, they runne to Cuckencie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Kuford. To this river likewise (saith he) two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Spaunfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then cometh three miles lower to Kuford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Of such falles of waters as ioine

with the sea, betweene Hum-
ber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.



Having in this maner descri-
bed the Duze, and such rivers
as fall into the same: now it
resteth that I proceed in my
volage toward the Thames,
according to my former or-
der. Being therefore come a-
gaine into the maine sea, I
find no water of anie countenance or course (to my
remembrance) till I come unto the Ancolme a god-
lie water, which riseth east of Spereate Kasing, and
from thence goeth by middle Kasing. Then receiuing
a short rill from by south, it runneth on vnder two
bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, north-
east; where also it meeteth with another brooke, from
Wilsbie that commeth thither by Wresbie, goeth by
Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottoine,
that descend from Howtham, and north Leseie) and
thence to Fletsted, Clanford, Wardeleie, Thorne-
ham, Applebie, Howslow, north Ferrerie, and so into
the sea.

Ancolme.

Rills.

Being past Ancolme, we go about the Felle, and
so to the fall of the water which commeth from Kiele-
bie, by Cotham abbey, Pertham abbey, Thorne-ton,
and leauing Corhill by west, it falleth into the Dee-
an. The next is the fall of another brooke coming
from Fleting, all along by Stallingburne. Then
crossed we Grimstie gullet, which issuing aboue C-
rebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Cotes, and then
into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet,
whose backwater descendeth from Salesbie by Ash-
bie, Wiggelstie, Clath, and Tolwste, and finally
to the next issue, before we come at Saltstete, which
branching at the last, leaueth a prettye Island wherein
Comholme village standeth. This water riseth short
(as I heare) of Cathe well, from whence it goeth to
Kathbie, Wallington, Clington, Lototh, Wodring-
ton, Auingham, and then branching aboue north So-
merton, one arme meeteth with the sea, by Graue-
thorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Saltstete.

Saltstete water hath but a short course: for rising
among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at
Saltstete hauen: howbeit the next unto it is of a
longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Calwthorpe
paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons,
the west middle and east Saltstetes, and so into the
Deean. The water that riseth aboue Dimesbie and
Dybie, goeth to Calwstie, Swabie abbey, Cla-
thorpe, Belew, Lattle, Witherne, Stane, and north-
east of Ehetilthorpe into the maine sea.

Haplethorpe.

Haplethorpe water riseth at Haressthorpe, and
going by Parkeleie, Folethorpe, and Truethorpe, it
is not long per it meet with the Germane Ocean.
Then come we to the issue that commeth from aboue
Hotoff, and thence to Dumbie chapel, whither the
water coming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and
Slouthbie (and wherinto another rill falleth) doth
runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and so-
ueraigne. As for Ingold mill creeke, I passe it ouer,
and come freight to another water, descending
from Burge by Hegnes. From hence I go to the
issue of a faire brooke, which (as I heare) doth rise at
Cotford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagender-
bie, Ashwarbie, Salwsthorpe, Partneie, Ashbie, the
Stepings, Thorpe cross, and so into the sea. As for
Wlamstete water, it commeth from the east sea, and
goeth betweene S. Maries & Alballowes by Wlain-
stete towne, and treading the path of his predecessors,

emptyeth his chanell to the maintenance of the sea.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a fa-
mous river, whereof goeth the bisword, frequented of
old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,

Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Linds, diuerse the like, and I haue Linds, w^h
read all these names my selfe: and thereto that the
Lincolne men were called in old time Corita-

ni, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodu-
num, in which region also Ptolomie placeth Rige,
which some take to be Rotingham, except my memo-
rie doe faile me. It riseth among the Wickschams, in
the edge of Lincolne shire, and (as I take it) in south
Wickscham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colster-
worth, Causton, Birkestoke Paunton, and Paunton
Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from
by southwell, as I heare. From Grantham it run-
neth to Pan, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barnesston, where
crossing a becke from north east, it proceeded further
southwell ward by Spereston, toward Foston (there
also taking in a brooke that riseth about Denton, and
goeth by Slobbrooke) it hasteth to Wodington, Cla-
pale, Barnebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Walling-
ham, Thurstie, and beneath Amburgh crosseth a wa-
ter that commeth from Stogillthorpe by Somerton
castell.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth
still south on his waie to the Wickschams, Wolsam,
Wacebridge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Ro-
mans wrote Nicholl by transposition of the letters,
or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. But
yet it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof
one is called Swan pole) and some after diuiding it
selfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower
part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of
stone ouer it, thereby to passe through the principall
street: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare
their fisher botes, so the lesser is not without his gene-
rall commodities. At Lincolne also this noble river
meeteth with the Fosse dike, whereby in great floods
vessels may come from the Trents side to Lin-
colne. For betwene Tockstie, where it beginneth,
and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue fe-
uen miles, as Leland hath remembered. Bishop Ar-
water began to cleanse this ditch, thinking to bring
great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time:
but sith he died before it was performed, there hath
no man bene since so well minded as to prosecute
his purpose. The course moreover of this our streame
following, from Lincolne to Boston is fiftie miles
by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall haue
but 24. For there are foure common places where
men are ferried ouer; as short ferrie, siue miles
from Lincolne, Lateral fall ferrie, eight miles from
short ferrie, Wogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth fer-
rie siue miles, and so manie finally to Boston.

Fosse dike.

But to go forward with the course of Linds
(whereof the whole prouince hath bene called Lin-
desleie) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepe-
wath, Wallingburg, Fiskerton, and some after ta-
keth in sundrie rivers in one chanell, whereby his
greatnesse is verie much increased. From this con-
fluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a
rill (descending from betwene Sotbie and Randbie,
and going by Barton) it slideth south by Cupham to
Lateral fall castell, taking by there in like sort three
small rills by the waie, whereof I haue small notice
as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further
consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall
please God that I may liue to haue the siling of these
rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more
leasure to peruse them than at this time is gran-
ted. Finally, bring past Lateral fall, and Wogdike
ferrie,

ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boson, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I brieflie dispatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a friend, I will yeld so farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and set downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be sufficientlie described alreadie.

Into Witham therefore from by north, and seven miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Kelsie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Histon and Turrington, the other from Sudbroke, and likewise beneath Birlings with the third comming from Warkeworth by Stansted, and joining all in one, some after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and so are neuer more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwell, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Willingams, and the ferrie. At Eaterfall it meeteth with the Bane, which riseth about Burgh, and nere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigob, Wymmingstie, Wamburgh, Fillington, Horne castell (where it crosseth a rill from Belchworth) Thorton, Sparton, Helton, Kirkebie, Combie, Eaterfall, and so to Dogdike ferrie.

Above Boson likewise it taketh in a water comming from Lufecie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickeie, Sibbeseie and Hildike. And to Boson to lorne it selfe do finally come sundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which rising at Donessie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it casteth one arme into Holwell water. Thence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the first commeth from Hiltorpe, the second from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after some, I wote not vpon what occasion) Sempingham water, the third from Bidge end, the fourth from Sempingham, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by Kirton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Witham likewise falleth the Holwell, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from Haliwell to Dnebie, Elonden, Greford, and so to Catbydige, where it receiuet another rising at Witham and west of Hantorpe, and the second comming from Laund, and so run from thence together to Willesthorpe and Catbydige, and then into the Haliwell, which after these confluences goeth to Tetford and Castcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and so through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Foldske, where it meeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Wash, as I haue noted vnto you.

Hauing thus set forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Witham or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be past Boson, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girtoles, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon speach doth signifie deepe fennes and marishes) and these beginning at Peterborow eastward, extend themselves by the space of thre score miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This streame riseth about Sibbertoft, and running betwene Bosworth and Hothorpe, it goeth to Fedingworth, Person, Wubberham, Trull, Herborow (receiuing there the Waie, which commeth from Waiebrooke castell) to Bolton, Weston, Willand, Ashleie, Spedburne, Fokingham, and Catwot, where a riuer called little Cie meeteth withall, comming from east Barton by Alerstone, Stocke, Foston, and Drie stocke. From Catwot it goeth to Gritto, Haringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Colie Weston, Elton, and there ioineth with the third called

Marke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lincolne, by Pelfton, Wiling, Lindon, Luffenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Linwell, to Stanford (crossing the Broke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Sparie, to Spereate, Waping, Crowland (where it almost meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and so into the sea.

Leland writing of this Witham, addeth these words which I will not omit, sith in mine opinion they are worthy to be noted, for better consideration to be had in the said water and his course. The Witham (saith he) going by Crowland, at Peterbore diuidenth it selfe into two branches, of which one goeth by to Spalding called Peterbore, and so into the sea at Fossebroke Stow: the other named the South in to Witham. This latter also parteth it selfe two miles from Crowland, & sendeth a rill called Withlake by Thorneie, where it meeteth with an arme of the Pene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth course with the broad streame, till it be come to Spurtho, six miles from Witham, where it falleth into the South.

Out of the South in like sort falleth another arme called Shepessie, and at Hopelode (which is foure, & tene miles from Lin) did fall into the sea. But now the course of that streame is ceased, wherevpon the inhabitants lufelie manie grievous floods, because the mouth is stanchd, by which it had accesse before into the sea. Whither to Leland. Of the course of this riuer also from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being past Stanton (saith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Wington, Talington, Sparie, Waping, east Waping, and comming to Walbam hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singlesole, receiuet the Pene out of Cambridgeshire, and then going by Domesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at last to Witham, it goeth by Luerington, saint Sparies, and so into the sea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowthoufe, Bretherhouse, Pitale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here also it receiuet the Walfon dreane, Longtoft dreane, Waping dreane, and thence goeth by Witham into the sea, taking withall on the right hand sundrie other dreanes, And thus farre be.

Part of all, when we are past these, we come to another fall of water into the Wash, which descendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade to lorne in Holland: but because it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as hasting to the Pene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middell thereof in place is a certaine swallow, so deepe and so cold in the middell of summer, that no man dare drue to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue bene touched with frost, much lesse to be couered with ice. The next therefore to be described is the Auon, otherwaile called Pene, which the said author describeth after this maner. The Pene beginneth foure miles about Northampton in Pene mere, where it riseth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which error is committed also in south Auondune, as we may easilie see. In another place Leland describeth the said riuer after this maner. The Auon riseth in Pene mere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuidenth it selfe into thre armes, whereof one goeth to Thorneie, another to Witham, the third to Kamsie: and afterward being united againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from Lin. Finally, the descent of these waters leaue here a great sort of Islands, where

witham.

Spake.

Bane.

Bolling-
borow.
Semp-
ingham.

Witham.

Waie.

Marke.

Brooke water
Whitnel.

Peterbore.
South.

Withlake.

Shepessie.

Auon.
Pene.

As y. of

of Cleie, Crowland, and Merland, are the chiefe. Whereto Leland.

Yolowest, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoever the other do want. The Auon therefore arising in Penemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northampton, & one aboute Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northampton, where it receiue the Medon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuer. The Medon therefore riseth at Jfauleffe in maffer knightes pyles, and in Wabbie plashes also are certeine springs that reioyn into this streame. Jfauleffe pyles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betwene the heads of these two riuers.

From the said hill therefore the Medon directeth his course to Wabbie, Jsewenham, Cuerton, Medon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiue the Florus (a pretie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bache, the fourth aboute Whilton) and then passeth on to Heford, Kissingberie, Upton, and so to Northampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finally by the waie the Bugbroke water at Heford, Pothall water nere Kissingberie, and finally Preston water beneath Upton, which running from Preston by Wotton, meeteth at the last with Whilton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitsone, Wodington, and Willingborough, where we must staie a while: for betwene Willingborough and Higham ferries, it receiue a pretie water comming from about Kilmarch, which going by Ardingworth, Daisborough, Kufheton, Jsewton, Caddington, Woughton, Marketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there with Kothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Higham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon.

Being therefore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham ferries, Arleborough, Kingsted, Woodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Harston, north whereof it ioyneth also with the Deleie water, that commeth from Subborough and Louiche, to old Ankles, Waden ho, Pilleton, Doke (where it taketh in the Lueden becke) and so to Dunsell, Cotterstocke, Tanfoner, and betwene Tothering and Warmington receiue the Corbie water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denchap, Bulwich, Bletchworth, Fineshed, Arthorpe, Peloton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Dallington, Perwell, Sutton, Calfor, Allerton, and so to Peterborough, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armies, and those into severall branches and daines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it meet with the sea on the one side of the countrey, and fall into the Duze on the other.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Jis, falleth into the sea betwene Merland & Dowloneham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth nere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Backleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarce lie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betwene Salsam and Allwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwellton) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Welfbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Crin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Crin riseth not farre

from Hardwicke in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Weth, Crinford, Godderington, Twisford, Staple Cladon, & per it come at Wabbie, meeteth with the Garan brooke descending from Garanburge, and so they go together by Wabbie, till they fall into the Duze, which carrieth them after the confluence to Thonneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forest by Luffeld, Decambled, and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culnerton, Stonie Stratford, and Wollerton.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Mere or Mere) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betwene Medon and Welfbirie in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Wollerton and Hauchsham into the foresaid Duze, which goeth also from hence to Jsewportpaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Cleie, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the berie confines betwene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whippesnade, and going on toward the north-west, by Eaton and Latton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entrencheth whole into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Bickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiue the Saw from aboute Halcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the Duze nere unto Jsewport, as I haue said. Being united therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Latendon, Jsewington, Wadfield on the one side, and Turuete on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windles, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was enforced to make an imagined staie here also, and viewe their severall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to viewe anie countrey wheresoever) I note the same as followeth.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Botton, and met withall nere Becliswade: another that grew of two waters, whereof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneath Arlesteie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wood end, the other from Woburne (or Woburne) and ioining about Flitton, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and so by Chiphill, and Gickland, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the foresaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Becliswade, Sandie, Blumham, and nere unto Hemmelford are united with the Duze. And now to our purpose againe.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winton, meeting there with the Warelie becke, and so runneth to J. Peotes (or saint J. Pedes, in old time Colneburg, as Capgrauce saith *In vita Nesti*) to Parston, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gunicester, which (as it should seme) hath bene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is: for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I upon these things: From hence therefore our water goeth on to

Vedunus.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Kother.

Deleie.

Corbie.

Jis.

Sila.

Jmelus.

Crin.

Verus.

Cle alias Claius.

Saw.

These rise not far from Michelborough & one of them in Higham parke.

Verus or the were.

Stoucus.

Scowes.

Helenus.
Elmerus.

Huntingdon, Wilton, saint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiveth in the meane time the Stow (nere unto little Barton) and likewise the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanel a little by west of Huntingdon.

Finallie, the maine streame spreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie flets are enforced by the same, although of fies, Sparthland, Ancarig or Ancarte be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland also hight thornie *Acruda terra*, or ftoze of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing in the same, and Ancarig because sundrie Ancres haue liued & bozne great swaie therein. But howsoever this case standeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a swift course unto Downham. Betwene it also and the Anon, are sundrie large meres or playes, by south west of Peterborow full of polwis and carpes, whereof Whittleseie mere, and Kamsleie mere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from about Woughton, Wilton, and great Riuelleie) are said to be greatest. Of all the riuers that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrychire, as appeareth by the register of Henrie p^{io} of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in this place, notwithstanding that I had earst appointed it unto my second booke. But for so much as a description of Duze and Granta were deliuered me together, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not separate them now in sunder.

The verie farthest head and originall of this riuier is in Benham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suffex, wherein (as the townefmen saie) are foure springs that run foure sundrie waies into the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water about Peterport pond, and therefore in his commentaries upon the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although doctor John Caius the learned physickian, and some other are of the opinion, that this riuier comming from Peterport, is properlie to be called the Rhe: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Peterport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside the same, receiveth a pretie rill, which in the midst thereof doth driue a mill, and descendeth from Wickin Bonham, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Peterport, it goeth alongst in the lower ground, untill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his household do sojourne, and sometime stood an abbeye of Benedictine monks, before their generall suppression. From Awdleis end it goeth to Littleburte, the lesse and greater Chesserfords, Pealdune, Hincstone, Seoson or Sawson, and nere unto Shaleford receiveth the Wabren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babzenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But ver it come altogether to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Rhe (a common name to all waters in the Saxon speech) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waie. The Rhe riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing under the bidge be-

twene Elden Hordon and Downton, and leaning Cablow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Walton, Barrington, Haelingfield, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and south west, as Wendie water south west of Crawden, Whaddon brooke south west of Wywell, Pilbzed becke south west of Walton, and finallie the Dime which commeth out of Arrington or Dymendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the same betwene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantchester on the other, it passeth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Pilcotes and Deuerels sometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinittie college, S. Johns, &c: unto the high bidge of Cambridge, and betwene the towne and the castell to Chesser-ton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whose bidge the most famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Chesser-ton it goeth to Dittton, Wilton, and per long meeting with two rills (from Bottesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Hoxningseie, & Water Bech: and finallie here iointing with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Duze, fiftene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third fliis or Duze, out of the aforesaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of this riuier hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come nether to the coast of Northfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by upon the same, wherein I will deale so preciselie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content euen the curious reader: or if a nie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected.

The first riuier that therefore we come unto, after we be past the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Wadfield, above the greater Wilhelham, and from thence it goeth on to Patonton, Burie, Farneham Sparth, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengrave, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Elden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catleige, and going by Asheleie, Spoulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Benet, Waddingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Ickelham into the Burne, from whence they go together as one into the Duze. With the Burne also there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Ickelham, and not verie far from Elden hall.

The Dune head, and rising of Maunehete, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bidge betwene A. O. pham and Fox, wherby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue bene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Ickelham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water coming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Widdenhams, Herling, Galthorpe) and so on, both in one chanel, they run to Clowton. Here they meet in like

Riuers.

Granta.

Stoure.

Bulbecke.

Burne.

Dale.

Babzen.

Rhe.

fort, with another descending from two heads, where of the one is nere unto Wakenham, the other to Lauesloche, as I heare. Certes these heads ioine above Hlesworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Wyoth, Thope, Berdwell, Hunnington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Gwiston, as I said. From hence also they hasten to Dolewneham, which of this riuer doth seme to be of his name. South kee till I passe ouer as not wot, thie the description, because it is so small.

Nert vnto this riuer on the south side is the Bradanus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Pecton, north Beckenham, south Beckenham, Hirsingham, Wedneie, Langford, Igboz, Hunsford, North Old, Stockebidge, Feredham, Helgie, and so into the Duze. The next vnto this is another which riseth about Lukenham, and from thence cometh to Lerham, Hastingham, Hewton, the castell Acre, Acres, Perboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Houghton (which at one time might haue bene my liuing if I would haue giuen sir Thomas Hugband monie enough, but now it belongeth to Cundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Welschurth, and so to Linne. As so doth also another by north of this, which cometh from the east hilles by Congenham, Crimston, Balwleie, Galtwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue care to the rest fith I am past the Duze. Being past the mouth of fall of the Duze, we meet next of all with the Rising chafe water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that cometh from about Snetsham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betwene the Crakes to Burnham Thope, and Burnham Porton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Porton a mile at the least, except my conjecture do faile me. The Glow or Glowie riseth not far from Baconshope, in the hundred of Luffes; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Clatonsford, Blackneie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betwene Billing towe and Walsburne.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Waterford, Townton, Skelthope, Farnham, Pentthope, Kieburg, Ellingham, and Billingford. And here it receiue two waters in one bottom, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Grestonhall, and so run on ech his owne wate, till they meet at Houndington, south west of Billingford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all together to Selow, Feng, Welfon, and Horetton; but yer it come to Horetton, it meeteth with the Powke, which (Maing about Perham) goeth by Hattelhall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Kingland, and so to Northwich the pontificall see of the bishop, to whom that inuision apertineth, which semeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Beneath Northwich also it receiue two waters in one channell, which I will seuerallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Wyrleie, within two miles of Northwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads whereof one mounteth by south west of Whinborough, goeth by Cernesford, and is the verie Hiere or Pare that doth beareth the name of Wantsume, so some as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Spittford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere

ere at Coston, going by Brandon, Wiston, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Wyrleie as I said) doth meet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that meet north west of Thersfane, and herof the one cometh from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemmell, Fretton, Stretton, and Lashow, till they ioine at Thersfane, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Thersfane therefore they go together in one to Hewton, Shotesham, Dunston, Calfos, Arminghale, Wyrleie, Lakenham, and Trowse, and then fall into the Wantsume beneath Northwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Pare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his boiage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Passwic, Surlingham, Clarton, and Pardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riuer descending from about Shotesham to Thersfane, Shedgrane, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Pare, whereof Pardleie the towne receiue denomination. After this it goeth to Fretthorpe, and above Burgh castell meeteth with the Wantsume, and so into the sea.

Into this riuer also falleth the Bure, which riseth at a towne of the same name, passeth by Spilton, Buresdune, Coppeleie, Sparington, Welseling, Bure, Aleham, Brampton, Worton, Hoxsted, Werrham bridge, Hoxning, Kane worth, and beneath Walsleie receiue the Thurine which riseth about Kolesbie, then to Obie, Cliphie (here also receiuing another from Filvie) Kimham, Calfos, and by Parmouth into the Ocean. The Wantsume afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Wyrleieham, and is a limit betwene Northfolke and Suffolk. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Ode, it meeteth with the Cie, which riseth nere Wchold, or betwene it and Walsworth, & goeth on by Brome, Ode, and so into the Wantsume. From thence our Wantsume runneth by Slam, Wodish, Nedam, Harleston, Rednam, Albozow, Flinton, Wungeie, Schepmedol, Barham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whitesacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Spilford water (which is most likeli) it goeth along by Somerleie, Hoxminghat, S. Plauces, (here receiuing the frithfane or friskan broke, out of low or litle England) friskan & Burgh castell, where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thenceforth accompanieth it (as I said) vnto the sea. Willingham water cometh by Pentsted, Cinfed, or Cntstate, and falleth into the sea by south of Kelland.

The Cokell riseth south south west of Cokelleie towne in Blithe hundred, & nere vnto Haiselworth it meeteth with the rill that cometh from Willket, and so going on together by Menhaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an haven betwene Koidon and Walderwicke. A little rill runneth also thereinto from Cston by Solwold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderwicke; and hereby it wanteth little that Cston Pesse is not cut off and made a pretie Island.

The Ford riseth at Dorford, and going by Fozberleie, and Heberton, it falleth at last into the Spilmere craske. Into the Dreford haven runneth one water comming from Albozow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west whereof (when we are past a little Ile) it receiue the second, descending from betwene Talington and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming at last to Parlesford, meeteth with a rill south west of Farnham called the Cleme (that cometh by Kerdleham, the Cleinhams) and so passing forth, it taketh another at Snapebridge, comming from Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape. Then going to Khen (where it meeteth with the third rill

Bradanus
fortē.

Linus.

Congnus.

Rising.

Ingeli.

Glowius.

Wantsume.

Vocus.

Hicus.
Cerne.

Wanen.

Bure.

Thurinus.

Wanen.

Cinus.
Fritha.

Cokelus.

Ford.

Dus.

Fromus.

Clena.

Then, or The. rill at the west side) it fettyeth a compasse by Sudburne east of Oxford, and so into the haven. Pert vnto this by west of Oxford, there runneth by another creeke by Watleie, whereinto the waters comming from Celleford, and from the The, do run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford haven.

Deu. The Deueriseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Herteshmere, and from thence goeth to Wickford, Winstan, Creetingham, Lethingham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in manner full south, it runneth nere vnto Ash, Rendlesham, Alford, Spelton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiveth on the west side, a water comming of two heads, whereof one is by north from Mteleie, and the other by south from Henleie, which joining west of Hertesham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Hertesham abovesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Walbyngfield and Henleie, and meeting some after with Wightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leauing Walbyseie on the east, where the fall therof is called Walbyseie haven.

Clarus fons. The riseth not farre from Baton, in Herteshmere hundred, and thence descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Hewton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Ratfelden, by one house) and so going on to Pedeham (through Bosmere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Wramford, Ipswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ipswich, the Chatham water, that goeth by Belfed, and so into the The, at the mouth whereof is a marvellous deepe and large pit, whereof some mariners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and joining the name of the riuer withall, it comineth to passe that the haven there is called The well, for which in these daies we do pronounce it The well. Into this haven also the Stoure or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described.

Clarus. The Stoure or Stoure parteth off from Suffolk, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake nere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Betton, the other from Hoxhed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolome, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Spanitæ, which carrieth some shadow of that ancient name therof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stourmere, which is a pole containing twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherein the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this mere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Forerth, Wureleie, Sudburie, Bures, Worsted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Stropford, east Barfold, Wrampton, Panitæ, Castwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it joineth with The well haven, so nere that of marie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that doth run along betwene them: neither doth it passe clere in this booke, but as it were, often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not here to be omitted.

For on Eller side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Bumsted, and Wurbroke: another rising west of Forerth, that runneth by water

Beauchampe, Wundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Hoxhelleie, and meeteth withall west of Worsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiveth one descending from Catledge, by Waddeleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Biddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Stoure. The second descendeth northward from Hodingfield, and joineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they seeme to make a right angle, in the point almost whereof standeth a ruinous castell. Wherbet as thence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath bene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as clerenesse of the streame) even so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Island of no small fame and honour. But these are but mere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one cometh from Wickham brooke, the other from Chesbar in Kibbie hundred, and joining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hatton, Somerton, Worsted, Stansted, and north of Forerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betwene the Waldingfelde, and goeth by Edwardstone, Worsted, Alington, Holfsted, Stoke, and so at south Worsted falleth into the same. The fifth riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Wimblesie, Hoding, and receiuing Kettle Basson water south west of Chelwooth (and likewise the Wretton that cometh from Wrettenham, by Hitcham, and Wisseton street on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Pedging, Aldham, Waddeleie, Lainham, Shelleie, Hingham, and so into the Stoure. The first is a little rill descending south west from Chappell. The seventh riseth betwene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betwene Latington, and Whetsted, Holfbroke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

As for Mteleie Dril, that riseth betwene Mteleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Eller side, west of Hartwich, and east of Ke Fle: I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Ramfere bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Pert vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Gosse, and falleth into the sea about the middelt of the Waie, betwixt Hartwich and the Paze. Betwixt the Paze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Lendring thorp, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the deepe sea.

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Dington that goeth by Ilberie, and east of Hedbam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Kege: well in Eller, from whence also it goeth to Hedbam and Hedingham, otherwise called Pingham: also Hedningham or Heurdingham, or Heurdingham of the superlatiue which accrued therevnto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heud or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other tostones and villages yet standing in England cannot easily be forgotten.

The description of Britaine.

The third falleth in south of Meldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Watford, Erles Colne, Makes Colne, Forndon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Wyckleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Thancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that these assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should seeme rashly to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie upon rather as a more certaintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was perswaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made thre seuerall passages fro thence into the land: but now I understand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which cometh in beneath the Strond (a causeie that leadeth vnto Spercie Ile, ouer which the sea meteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these thre haue their falles either ouer against or nere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Vnto the Colne or Colinus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not consent to him herein) do run manie salt creekes beneath fingering ho, of whose names sith I do not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further, & likewise of their positions. Vnto that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin or
Dant.

There is a pretie water that beginneth nere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & backe that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decayed, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessive building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are enforced to buie their felwell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner enhanced. This said brooke runneth directly from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime chiefe owners of the same. By the wate also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Dantwell is the chiefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Dant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath bene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that boates haue come in time past from Bilie abbeye beside Maldon vnto the mores in Radwinter for coyne. I haue heard also that an ancho: was found there nere to a red willow, when the water coursed by act of parliament were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he

would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping by the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantly. Certes I knowe the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becometh a wolfe vnto the other in their mischeuous modes. For when the lord sawe his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certaine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to do his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: whereupon ensued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and retorne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Wilte abbeye. The third cometh out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockswets house, named the Kotherwell, which running vnder Kotheres byrge, meteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northweest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Kother from Wendish hall: but because it is for the most part drye in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Wendishes, now wome out of knowledge, and vnted partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Althdon. It belonged first to the Wendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lateng the said manour to mortgage to the monks of Feuertham, at such time as B. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staid longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Whereupon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalves, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delate of payment vpon the daie assigned. Hereupon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made seizure of the manour, and held it continually without anie further recompense, makinge all the friendship that the aforesaid Wendish could make. The said gentleman also toke this consenting part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be seene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue monk or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant.

The next is named Frothwell. And of this spring
Frothwell
dott

doth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the river it selfe therunto it falleth (from by north) so farre as I remember. Certes, all these, saving the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therfore running from hence (as now, as I said, called Froshwell, or Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie unto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Frinch brooke that cometh thorough Finchingsfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stiffed, Hallowe, and so to Blackwater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth; the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, untill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beareth upon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceived) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this coniecture, for that I thanckerford stood somewhere upon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they saie) also are swallowed up by the said streame, which can not be verifed in our river that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, erreth not (to my coniecture) about one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, alias the Glwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Corall, Caisterford, Baxsted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and so going together as one, they descend to Heichbridge, and finally into the salt water above Maldon, and at hand as is aforesaid. As for the Barus, it riseth in a statelie parke of Essex called Bardfield, belonging to Sir Thomas Wroth whilste he lived, who hath it to him and his heires males for ever, from the crowne. Being risen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Baintre, crossing a rilllet by the waie comming from Kaine, blacke Potleie, white Potleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackwater beneath Baxsted on the south.

Barus.

Chelmer.

Lind's.

Korford.

L.

Beside this, the said Pant or Glwin receiveth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbeth aforesaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where master Thomas Wisseman esquire dwelleth) the other nigh unto a farme called Highams in the same paroch, and joining yer long in one chanel, they bie them toward Thackled under Brodokes bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boston end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thackled, it goeth by Tilteie, and some after receiveth one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindell, & falleth into the Chelmer by north east at Tilteie aforesaid, & another coming from south west, rising south east from Lindell at much Gilton. From thence then holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmote, little Dunmote, Falsted, Lies, both Walthams, Springfield, and so to Chelmeresford. Here upon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth five miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Dunasing, Buttesburie (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Ingatstone, Parget Inge, Wilsford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmeresford (crossing also the second water that descendeth from Korford south west of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this suffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badoth, Doting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater north west of Maldon, receiuing neuerthelesse yer it come fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Læ parke, to little Lees, great Lees, Hatfield, Deuerell, Doting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame doth a rill from by south over against saint

Mithes, and also another by Badwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Collesbie, and so forth into the maine sea nere unto Herseie: betwene which fall and the place where Salute water entreteth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beset, did send unto him for aid and speedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner Iwan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum.

The Burne riseth somewhere about Konwell, Burne, and the nce goeth to Hull bridge, south Fainbridge, Kirkehot ferrie, and so to Foulness. And as this is the short course of that river, so it brancheth, and the south arme thereof receiveth a water comming from Haukelwell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Haketham doth meet by south with the said arme, and so finish by his course, as we doe our voyage also about the coast of England.

Thus haue I finished the description of such rivers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordingly performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solucie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side; to the Tweede, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-rivers, you shall not need to use anie further aduise for the finding and fallies of the aforesaid streames. For such hath bene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit upon anie part or parcel of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill witting of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a river, to write one towne two or thre manner of waies, whereby I was enforced to chose one (at aduventure most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be found in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finally, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on each coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prouided the same in such wise as I iudged most convenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I see it may proue a spurte unto further mischæse, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuerthelesse, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

Of

Of such ports and creeks as our sea-
faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon
the coasts of England.

Chap. 17.

It maie be that I haue in
these former chapters omit-
ted sundrie hauens to be found
vpon the thore of England,
and some of them serued with
backe waters, through want
of sound and sufficient infor-
mation from such as haue
witten vnto me of the same. In recompense where-
of I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports
and creekes, thereby (so farre as to me is possible) I
shall make satisfaction of mine ouersights. And albe-
it I cannot (being too much abused by some that
haue bereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring
my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of Eng-
land round about, from Berwtike to the Solue: yet
I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap
remaineth, whereby my countriemen shall not alto-
gether want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer
also the rest, if God grant life and good successe
thereto.

Northum-
berland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwtike,
Holie Iland, Hambozow, Bedwell, Donstanbozow,
Cocket Iland, Markeworth, Hewbiggin, Almotw,
Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Darham. In the bishopricke, Sonderland, Stocketon, Har-
tlepole, These.

Yorkeshire. In Yorkeshire, Dapnam sands, Steninggrene,
Staies, Hunswike, Robinhoods baie, Whitbie, Scar-
bozow, Fileie, Flambozow, Wichlington, Hone-
seie becke, Sisser kirke, Kelsie, Cliffe, Pattenton,
Holmes, Penningham, Hall, Widon, Hulbyge, We-
uerleie, Hull, Hasell, Northferebie, Bucke creeke,
Blacke coft, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolne-
shire. In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebzige,
Kodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Tokeleie, Gainsbo-
row, Southferebie, Barton a god point, Barrow a
god hauen, Skaterrill a god port, Penningham,
Stalingbozow a god hauen, Cuisvie a god port,
Clie, March chappell, Saltflæte, Willgripe, Apple-
ford, saint Clements, Wendleie, Frilcon, Toff,
Skerbrike, Wollon, Frompton, Meluerton, Fosse-
dike a god hauen.

Norfolk. In Norfolk, Linne a god hauen, Snatch-
ham, Hitchham, Desingham god, Thunstone,
Thorneham god, Brankeller god, Burnham god,
with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging,
Welles god, Strikeie, Harston, Blakeleie towne,
Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen god, Salthouse
creeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer,
Berton, Trinningham, Poundleie, Bromwall,
Hasebozow, Wakeham, Eckelles, Winterton,
Cusser, Helmeleie, Dwell, Upton, Waibridge,
Parnmouth, god all the waie to Norwich, with di-
uerse villages on the riuer side.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Berles, Wangeie, Southton, Cor-
ton, Gorton, Laiffow a god port, Kirtil, Wakefield,
Kalleldon, Wibozow, Coffe hith, Eton, Walder-
wic, Donewich, Swold hauen, Sissetwell, Thorpe, Al-
bozow, Arford a god hauen, Walseie god, Felirfow,
Colneie, Spofen, Ppwith, Downambridge god,
Pinneemill, Shotleie, Cataweie, Warfold.

Esex. In Essex we haue Dedham, Paning tre, Thorne,
Wrabbelnes, Kamleie, Harwich, Douer court,
Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Wichwill, Wal-
ton mill, Walton hall, Canleie, Petowhauen god,
S. Disithes, Bentleie god, Wicleie, Thoplington

(where god ships of a hundred tun or more be made)
Alford, Wiuenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rought
hedge, Fingering ho, east Werleie, west Werleie,
Salcot, Colbanger, Worow, Maldon, Stanefgate,
Sudmester, S. Peters, Burnham, Criseie, Aldon,
Clements grene, Hulbridge, Pacleston, Harling,
litle Wakering, much Wakering, south Sudburie,
Wakeringham, Melton, Papper hill, or Læ, Beam-
flæte, Wtlete range, Fobbing, Wableie god, Guck-
ing, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Canleie, Stokehow, Kent.
Snodlond, Melhall, Maldon, Aileford, Petow hith,
Rochester, Celingham, Reinham, Wpchurch, Hal-
sted, Quinbozow, Pilton, Feuerham, Whitstaple,
Werne, Margate, Bodelstaiter, Kamlgate, and ma-
nie of these god creekes: also Sandwich, Douer,
Hyde, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

In Suffex we haue Smalade with the creekes
adjoining to the same, Kidon, Appledoune, Ric a god
hauen, and Winchelseie nothing at all inferiour to
the same, and so manie thires onelis are left vnto me
at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie
leane off to deale anie further with the rest, whose
knowledge I am right sure would haue bene profit-
table: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great
thankes at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as
shoulde haue had vse hereof.

Defunt catera.

Of the aire, soile, and commodities
of this Iland.

Cap. 18.

The aire (for the most part)
throughout the Iland is such,
as by reason in manner of con-
tinuall clouds, is reputed to
be grosse, and nothing so plea-
sant as that is of the maine.
Notwith, as they which al-
firme these things, haue one-
lie respect to the impediment or hinderance of
the sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and
off ingrossed aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is
no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is
that of other countries, and (as Caesar himselfe here-
to addeth) much more temperate in summer than
that of the Galles, from whom he adventured hither.
Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our
region, that is not vsuallie seene amongst other na-
tions lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must
needs confesse, that the situation of our Iland (for be-
nefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of
anie countreie of the maine, where so euer it lie vnder
the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full
well, who affirmeth a part of the Clissan fields to be
found in Britaine, and the Fles that are situate a-
bout it in the Ocean.

The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies
and reports both of the old and new writers, and ex-
perience also of such as now inhabit the same, is ve-
rie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth forth manie
commodities, whereof other countries haue need,
and yet it selfe (if fond nicenesse were abolished) need-
lesse of those that are dallie brought from other pla-
ces. Neuertheless it is more inclined to feeding and
grazing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of
corne, by reason whereof the countreie is wonderfu-
lie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and
such store is there also of the same in euerie place,
that the fourth part of the land is scarcelie manured
for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes
his

this fruitfulness was not unknowne unto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors living in those daies in manner neglected tillage, and lived by feeding and grasing onelie. The grasers themselves also then dwelled in moveable villages by companies, whose custom was to divide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irish Triacht) till by eating up of the countrie about him, he was enforced to remove further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath bene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for cozne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarcelie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scottish doth faile in some respect, so doth it surmount in other; God and nature having not appointed all countries to yeld forth like commoditties.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we have (if need be) sufficient helpe to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, for beside the compell that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, dovecotes, or cities and great townes: we have with us a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast over a peece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need of anie further compellling. Hereof also doth Plinie speake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth upon the earth by the space of fourescore yeares: inasmuch that it is laid upon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to traueil twice in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Margra, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finally commendeth ours, and that of France, above all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalker upon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also doe practise: albeit diuerse do like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported.

There are also in this Island great plenty of fresh riuers and streames, as you haue heard already, and these thoroughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hills, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding height, and diuerse extending themselves verie far from the beginning: as we may see by Shotters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the Island westward, untill it come to Cornwall. Like unto these also are the Crowdon hills, which though vnder diuers names (as also the other from the Peche) do run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheviot hills, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mountaines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length: of the Cle hills in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester by the Teme: of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Children, which are eightene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Dorsetshire to Dunsstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and cozne: notwithstanding that the most part yeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for sheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doe somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie

with plenty of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabastr) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

In this Island likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often sene upon the naked hills, not garded with trees to beare and keepe it off. That grieuous inconvenience also inforseth our nobilitie, gentrie, and commonaltie, to build their houses in the vallies, leaving the high grounds unto their cozne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be sene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of stacelie and curious workmanship into euerie quarter of the countrie: but also (in hot habitations) for coldnesse sake of the aire, with the heat is neuer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sunne beames either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected upon the lower soile.

But to leaue our buildings unto the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certainelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath bene in times past. The cause is for that our countreymen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they haue bene: inasmuch that my Synchironi or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome: whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yelded but small profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as dailie manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this Island, that is to saie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and livelihood was wont to be looked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the cow gaue: the people in the meane time living idelie, dissolutelie, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

The pasture of this Island is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the pellowest butter and finest cheese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh up the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and verie apt for bushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable unto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the chiefe. I speake of the same which is to be found in the mountaines there, where the hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke mores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soile, on which a man may late a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrown with grasse: it is not hard to find plenty thereof in manie places of this land. Nevertheless, such is the fruitfulness of the

Triacht.

Marle.

Plentie of riuers.

Hills.

(*) Here lacks

Building.

Husbandrie amended.

Pasture.

aforsaid

aforsaid countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batable-nesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and dzaine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.

Meadows.

Our meadowes are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, because our soile is hille) or else such as we call land meads, and borrowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerdrowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent fallles of land-waters, that descend from the hills about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, with the haie of our low meadowes is not onelic full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for stouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often about one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and as I remember, used by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or upward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are thus motued I speake not, with their later math is not so wholesome for cattell as the first; although in the month more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in blood, that the garget and other diseases do consume manie of them before the owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious soles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang by stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found broken for; as if such a stone were an apt cockeshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the totes that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalves, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

Corn.

The yeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeld commonlie fiftene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie fir and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fve quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, solwen together, fares and otes (which they call bulinong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yeld is neuertheless much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hotter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Darius writeth of in his *De imperio Iudeorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field nere

to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Cosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barlie growing doth yeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our moxie hitherto and vnprofitable grounds do yeld such plentie & increase, that there are few farmers or occupiers in the countie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than do come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions used by the Flemings, and forgerie daily practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his moxie grounds into hopyards, wherof before he had no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges bozne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret friends of Flemings let not to exclaim against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuertheless after three yeares do also come to the fire, and spare their other setwell.

The cattell which we breed are commonlie such as for greatnesse of bone, swerthnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oren, whose largenesse, height, weight, fallow, hibes, and hoines are such, as none of anie other nation do commonlie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh; quantitie of lims, finesse of fleece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than do our goates, who in like sort do follow the same order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue sene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Speall and Disnege, that the greale of one being weighed, hath peised verie nere six or seven ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnessse.

Cattell.

Speall and Disnege.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelic hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countreimen (especiallie of the south partes) who do not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become dnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadoe, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well known. But with that liquor when it cometh to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may brie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterpises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor successe of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vnless such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that provision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imployed vpon the same.

Wine.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

this Iland heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperour gave equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie lutes, commended in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie abbey yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witnesse, as also the plot which we now call east Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighton Guild. The truth is (saith John Stow our countrey man, and diligent traveller in the old estate of this my native citie) that it is now named Portoken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Aldgate. Whobett first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finally Gessrie erle of Essex constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion fro the said house, vntill the reigne of king Stephen, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Romans called Le Ile des vignes. And god record appeareth, that the bishop there had yearelie thre or foure tunne at the least giuen him *Nomine decime*, beside whatsoeuer ouer-summe of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other orcheats, whereof also I haue sene mention. Wherefore our soile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the moone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long inough vpon the same: a verie merre toie and fable right woorthie to be suppressed, because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenish wines.

The time hath bene also that was, wherewith our countrey men did their faces (as Caesar saith) that they might seme terrible to their enemies in the field (and also women & their daughters in law did straine their bodies & go naked, in the pickle vnto the sacrifices of their gods, coueting to resemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie saith li. 22. cap. 1.) and also madder haue bene (next vnto our tin and wolles) the chiefe commodities; and merchandize of this realme. I find also that rape oile hath bene made within this land. But now our soile either will not or at the leastwise may not beare either woad or madder: I saie not that the ground is not able so to doe, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and carelesse of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the fame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may saie of flax, which by law ought to be sown in euerie countrey-towne in England, more or lesse: but I see no successe of that good and wholesome law, sith it is rather contemptuoullie reieated than otherwise dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Some saie that our great number of lawes do breed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; because we haue so manie, that no subiect can liue without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this respect, which (after Aristotle) doth seme to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath):

Euentus varios res nostra semper habet.

But verie manie let not to asirme, that the greedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, factitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiours, & puiat respects of their establishment on the other, are the grea-

test causes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies so reddie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I haue no skill, so I with that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogative roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorable increased): that euerie one which by freed friendship (or otherwise) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open assizes and sessions denounced entire to his countrey and common-wealth of the land.

Glasse also hath bene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said stufte also, beside fine scissers, sheres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruises and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like sort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and vessels of tinne (as Strabo saith). Wherby it appereth that in old time our countreymen were farre more industrious and painefull in the vse and application of the benefites of their countrey, than either after the coming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themselves more to idlenesse and following of the warres.

If it were requisite that I should speake of the sundrie kinds of mold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerse sorts (red, blue, blacke and white) also the red or white sandie, the lomie, roselie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could saie that there are so manie diuerse beines in Britaine, as else where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Whobett this I must needs confesse, that the sandie & cledgie do beare the greatest swaie: but the claie most of all, as hath bene, and yet is alwaies sene & felt through plentie and dearth of coine. For if this latter (I meane the claie) do yield hir full increase (which it doth commonly in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: wheras if it faile, then haue we scarcitie, according to the old rude verse set downe of England, but to be vnderstood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

When the sand doth serue the claie,
Then may we sing well awaie,
But when the claie doth serue the sand,
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horse, another of Couesham, commonly taken for the granarie of Worcester-shire, the third of Alce-burie that goeth by Lame, the fourth of Chilterne hills, to Donstable, Petworth panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Wiltshire parke, &c. I likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorsetshire. The fifth of Kingdale or Kentdale, corruptlie called King-talle, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and also the Northwood vale: but for so much as I know not well their cuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to speake of our fennes, although our countrey be not so full of this kind of soile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Fardon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botoms, the which are not onelic indured with excellent riuers and great store of coine and fine fodder for neat and horses in time of the yeare (wherby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well known to be either of ten, twelue, sixtene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Principes long-
ge magis ex-
emplo quam
culpa peccare
solent.

Earths.

Vallies.

Fennes.

woad.
spadder.
Rape.

flax.

Eleg. 2.

L. i. length,

length, that of the Sirvies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also like the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and wherevnto there is no accesse but by three causes, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, fodge, turfe, &c. to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that countnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons.

Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giours is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherefore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilst I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Island, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

*Ille quidem longe celebris splendore, beata,
Clevis, laete, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, fumantibus ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Testis Londoniae aribus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcesteria fugere redundans,
Bathonia lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca filius, Excestria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacus hybernus, Cestria Gallis,
Cicestrum Norwagenu, Dunelmia prapinguu,
Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Testis Eli formosa sinu, Doncastria visus, &c.*

Of the foure high waies sometime
made in Britaine by the princes
of this Island.

Cap. 19.



Here are, which indenoizing to bring all things to their Saron originall, doe affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should appertaine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romans gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Watling street was builded by one Wattle from the east vnto the west. But how weakie their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcels, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first establish- ed. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue already collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saron princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I see great cause (notwith- standing my late alledged scruple) wherefore I should

hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I meane for the better knowledg of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauour Iesus Christ, seeing the subjects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueiled; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subjects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. Now and by what parts of this Island these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not impossible, but that they may be found out, & left certaine vnto posteritie. I seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by doles and marches, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt nere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet inlie to be found almost in euerie place, even in the time of our most gracions and soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles doe unite their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; wherevnto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also doe raise a new commoditie) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thenceforth insue, caused the same to be paved with hard stone of righteene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallowe vp his workmanship, and the higher ground over-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie manner of wise, nere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by friendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie provided in those cases were due vnto the offenders. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

The Fosse goeth not direalie but slopetwise ouer the greatest part of this Island, beginning at Dot- nelse or Lottelse in Deuonshire, where Brutus some time landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers doe seeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonshire & Sum- merfetshire, and cometh to Wyssels, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Subberie market, Tetburie, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the midde waie betwene Gloucester and Cirencester, (where the wood faileth, and the champaigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswold) straight as a line untill you come to Cirencester it selfe. Some hold

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opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirnecester to Bath, should be the verie fosse; and that betwixt Cirnecester and Gloucester to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed also by some experience, iudgeth that most of the waies crossed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland also, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnecester that shewed great likelihood by some records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirnecester, it goeth by Chepington to Couentrie, Leicester, Peterwarke, and so to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingstreet: where, by generall consent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathnesse in Scotland) it is said to haue an end.

Watling street.

The Watlingstreet begun (as I said) by Dunwallo, but finished by Gutheline, of whom it is really to be called Gutheline street, though now corrupted into Watlingstreet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and so stretcheth through the middell of Kent vnto London, and so forth (peradventure by the middell of the citie) vnto Verolamin or Werlamcester, now Saint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thousand five hundred thirtie & one, the course thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therewith to mend the high waie. It was in this place righteene foot broad, and about ten foot deepe, and stoned in the bottome in such wise as I haue noted afore, and peradventure also on the top: but these are gone, and the rest remaine equall in most places, and leuell with the fields. The pelow grauell also that was brought thither in carts two thousand yeres passed, remained there so fresh and so strong, as if it had bene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leaning it on the west side. And a little by south of this place, where the priorie stood, is a long thorough fare vpon the said street, meetly well builded (for low housing) on both sides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell saith) to Carton, and so to Huntingdon, & then forward, still winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leicestershire toward Lughie, but also passeth from Castleford to Stamford, and so forth by west of Sparton, which is but a mile from Eborake.

Here by the waie I must touch the opinion of a traoueller of my time, who noteth the said street to go another waie, in such manner that he would haue it to crosse the third Anon, betwixt Peterwarke and Dorebridge, and so go on to Winford bridge, Wilbott, the High crosse, and thence to Atherston vpon Ancer. Certes it may be, that the fosse had his course by the countrie in such sort as he describeth; but that the Watlingstreet should passe by Atherston, I cannot as yet be persuaded. Neuerthelesse his coniecture is not to be misliked, sith it is not unlikely that thre seuerall waies might meet at Alderwaite (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the said towne did take his name of all thre waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all thre parties, vnto whom it hath bene dedicated: but that the Watlingstreet should be one of them, the compasse of his passage will in no wise permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingstreet, are that it goeth thorough or nere by the parkie at Pomfret, as the common voice also of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it passeth hastilie ouer Castelford bridge to Atherford, which is five miles from thence, and where are most manifest tokens of this

street and his broad crest by a great waie together, also to Porke, to Wiltshire, and then to Woottonbridge, where on the left hand thereof stand certaine monuments, or pyramides of stone, sometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. These stones (saith Leland) stand eight miles west from Wotwis, and almost west from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Spaiden castell, situate apparantlie vpon the side of this street. And here is one of those pyramides or great round heapes, which is thre score foot compasse in the bottome. There are other also of lesse quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are sharpe stones of a yard in length; but the greatest of all is eighteene foot high at the least, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they stand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwene Richmondshire, and Westmerland. But to proceed. This street lieng a mile from Willing, and two miles from Richmond cometh on from Woottonbridge to Catericke, eighteene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & six to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Grete or Gritto, five miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Applebie, and five to Wotwham, where the said street commeth thorough Wainfoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Ciernouth and Loder, and leaning North a quarter of a mile or more on the west side of it, goeth to Carlell seuentene miles from Wotwham, which hath bene some notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathnesse, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

The Erming street, which some call the Elme, Erming stretcheth out of the east, as they saie, into the south, east, that is, from Penensia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is somewhat likelie indeed that these two waies, I meane the fosse and the Erming, should meet about Cirnecester, as it cometh from Gloucester, according to the opinion conceived of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can saie no more of it, except I should inueno or diue a waie the time, in alleging what other men say thereof, whose minds do so farre disagree one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in such dealing.

The Ikenild or Kikenild began somewhere in the south, and so held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worcester, Wilcombe, Wintonham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and crossing the Watlingstreet somewhere in Yorkshire, stretched south in the end vnto the mouth of the Ene, where it ended at the maine sea, as most men do confesse. I take it to be called the Ikenild, because it passed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do same to place the Icenes in Dorsetholke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, sith it is manifest by Tacitus, that they late nere vnto the Silures, and (as I gesse) either in Stafford and Worcester shires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium historiarum*, doth call this street the Elme. But as herein he is deceived, so haue I dealt withall so faithfully as I may among such diuersitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confusion in the names and courses of these two latter, the discussing whereof I must leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to speake generallie of our common high waies through the English part of the Ile (for of the rest I can saie nothing) you shall vnderstand that in the clate or cledgie soles they are often verie deepe and troublesome in the winter halfe. Therefore by

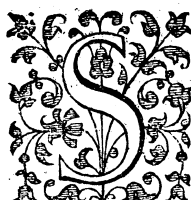
L. if.

authoritie

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their
 pearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the com-
 mon people do imploye their trauell for six daies in
 summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent
 of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations
 of the decayed places, yet the rich do so cancell their
 portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that
 of all the six, scarlelie two good days woorks are well
 performed and accomplished in a parish on these so
 necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue
 land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, do vterlie
 neglect to digh and scowre their dyaines and water-
 courses, for better auoidance of the winter waters
 (except it may be let off or cut from the meaning
 of the statute) whereby the streets do grow to be
 much more gulled than before, and thereby verie
 noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes
 also, and that verie often, these daies woorks are not
 imployed vpon those waies that lead from market
 to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots &
 lanes as seme best for his owne commoditie, and
 moze easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And
 whereas in some places there is such want of stones,
 as thereby the inhabitants are dytuen to seeke them
 farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands
 wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto
 haue giuen monie to haue them bozne awaie, do
 now reape no small commoditie by raising the same
 to excessive prices, whereby their neighbours are
 dytuen to greivous charges, which is another cause
 wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie
 much defrauded. Finally, this is another thing like-
 wise to be considered of, that the trees and bushes
 growing by the streets sides, do not a little keepe off
 the force of the sunne in summer for dyeng vp of the
 lanes. Therefore if order were taken that their
 boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the
 bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow
 paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied,
 and manie a rough proue hard ground that yet is
 deepe and hollow. Of the daile inchoching of the co-
 rnetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I
 know by experience, that whereas some streets with-
 in these five and twentie peares haue bene in most
 places fittie foot broad according to the law, whereby
 the traoueller might either escape the these, or thist the
 mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of
 himselfe and his hourse; now they are brought vnto
 twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most,
 which is another cause also whereby the waies be the
 worse, and manie an honest man encombyed in his
 iourneie. But what speake I of these things where-
 of I do not thinke to heare a iust redress, because
 the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so
 sweet and profitable to manie, by such houses and co-
 tages as are raised vpon the same.

Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.

Chap. 20.



Such as are bred in this Island
 are men for the most part of
 a good complexion, tall of sta-
 ture, strong in bodie, white of
 colour, and thereto of great
 boldnesse and courage in the
 warres. As for their generall
 comeliness of person, the te-
 stimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he
 saw English captiues sold at Rome, shall easilie
 confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in sundrie
 shires and soiles, as also their proportion of mem-

bers, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordshire
 and Essex; or Cambridgehire and the London-
 ners for the one, and Dorkington and Sedberrie for
 the other; these latter being distinguished by their no-
 ses and heads, which commonlie are greater there
 than in other places of the land. As concerning the
 stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue al-
 waies bene in soueraine admiration among for-
 ren princes: for such hath bene the estimation of our
 souldiers from time to time, since our Isle hath bene
 knowne vnto the Romans, that wheresoeuer they
 haue serued in foren countries, the chiefe bzunts of
 seruice haue bene reserved vnto them. Of their con-
 quests and bloudie battels wome in France, Ger-
 manie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where
 they haue bene overcome, the victors themselves
 confessed their victories to haue bene so deereleie
 bought, that they would not gladlie couet to over-
 come often, after such difficult maner. In martiall
 prowesse, there is little or no difference betweene
 Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots
 haue bene often and verie greivouslie overcome by
 the force of our nation, it hath not bene for want of
 manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of
 God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith
 they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs
 mere iniurie with great despite and crueltye.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of
 our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke
 vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell nere
 the north, are of moze courage and strength of bodie
 than skillfulnesse or wisdom.) The Britons are white
 in colour, strong of bodie, and full of blond, as peo-
 ple inhabiting nere the north, and farre from the
 equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and
 therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrari-
 wise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne,
 are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, moze nice, deli-
 cate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so
 blacke in deede as anie crow or raven. Thus saith he.
 Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of
 the maine, do come behind vs in constitution of bo-
 die, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimble-
 nesse of humours, and politike intentions, they gene-
 rallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwile
 these gifts of theirs do often degenerate into mere
 subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltye. Yet
 Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the
 fertilest region doth bring forth the dunest wits, and
 contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in
 mine opinion, the most fertile soile doth bring forth
 the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campani-
 ans, who (as Cicero also saith) had *Penes eos ipsum danti-
 cilium superbia*. But whether of these opinions do iustlie
 take hold of vs; yet hath it pleased the writers to
 saie their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell
 northward, we are commonlie taken by the foren
 historiographers, to be men of great strength and
 little pollicie, much courage and small shift, because of
 the weakes abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our
 bzaines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachy-
 merus noteth lib. 3. affirming further, that the people
 inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour,
 blockish vnckill, fierce and warlike, which qualitties
 increase, as they come nether vnto the pole; whereas
 the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts; blacknesse
 wisdom, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus
 saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as
 if there were not one and the same conclusion to be
 made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell
 vnder both the poles, for in truth his assertion hol-
 deth onelie in their persons that inhabit nere vnto
 and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tarfance
 of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length
 of

Non vi sed vir-
tute, non armis
sed ingenio vin-
cimus Angli.

of our daies. Wherefore his reason seemeth better to uphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afoze alledged, than to proue that we want wit, because our brains are not warmed by the variance of the sunne. And thus also both Comineus burden vs after a sort in his historie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countrymen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compasse to do so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen (not without great wisdom and force) haue brought to passe in France. The Galles in time past contemned the Romans (saith Cesar) because of the smallnesse of their stature: howbeit, for all their greatnesse (saith he) and at the first brunt in the warres, they shew themselves to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to stand in great calamities. Certes in accusing our wisdom in this sort, he doth (in mine opinion) increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightly with singlenesse of mind, sincerelie and plainlie, without anie such suspicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practise in all their affaires, then are our countrymen to be accompted wise and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftinesse, subtilie practises, doublenesse, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wisdom: then are Comineus and his countrymen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time bene used as an eare marke of their dissimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt.*

How these latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to discourse. How they are daile practised in manie places of the maine, & he accompted most wise and politike, that can most of all dissemble; here is no place iustlie to determine (neither would I wish my countrymen to learne anie such wisdom) but that a king of France could saie; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare. or viuere*, their owne histories are testimonies sufficient. Galen, the noble physician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yelloe colour, prudence; to the blacke, constancie; to blood, mirth; to phlegme, courtisie: and which being mixed moze or lesse among themselves, do yeld an infinit varietie: by this means therefore it cometh to passe, that he whose nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with strength of bodie, and sinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuersallie granted to remaine so well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot see what may be an hinderance whie I should not rather conclude, that the Britons do excell such as dwell in the hotter countries, than for want of craft and subtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie also for some to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talks) as barbarous, because we so little regard the shedding of our blood, and rather tremble not when we see the liquor of life to go from vs (I vse their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eyes, because we be rather indamed than appalled at our wounds, then are those objections flat cowards in our iudgement: sith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to stand to our tackling, untill the last drop, as men that may spare much because we haue much: whereas they hauing lesse are afraid to lose that little which they haue: as Frontinus also noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their histories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that an Italian writing of his credit; A papist intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his meeknesse, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no moze is a Frenchman to be trusted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either dissemble

or erre, which is a foule vice in such as profess to deale vprightly. Neither are we so hard to strangers as Horace would seeme to make vs, sith we loue them so long as they abuse vs not, & make accompt of them so far forth as they despise vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vse our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in so ample manner as we our selues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to do in their countries, where no stranger is suffered to haue worke, if an home-bozne be without. But to proceed with our purpose.

With vs, although our god men care not to liue long, but to liue well, some do liue an hundred yeers, verie manie vnto foure score: as for thre score, it is taken but for our entrance into age, so that in Britaine no man is said to wax old till he draw vnto thre score, at which time God speed you well cometh in place; as Epaminondas sometime said in mirth, affirming that untill thirtie yeares of age, you are welcome is the best salutation; and from thence to thre score, God keepe you; but after thre score, it is best to fate, God speed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our fourties end, whereon manie a one haue verie god leaue to go. These two are also noted in vs (as things appertaining to the firme constitutions of our bodies) that there hath not bene seene in anie region so manie carcasses of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by slaughter or otherwise, such as remaine vnburi'd by foure or five daies together, are easie to be knowne and discerned by their friends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of sundrie nations, saing, that their bodies are *Tam fluida substantia*, that within certaine houres the wise shall hardlie know his husband, the mother his sonne, or one friend another after their liues be ended. In like sort the comelinesse of our liuing bodies do continue from middle age (for the most) euen to the last gaspe, speciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women though bearing of children do after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie so wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerse of other countries with whom their men also do much participate; and thereto be so often waited and peeuish, that nothing in maner may content them.

I might here adde somewhat also of the meane stature generallie of our women, whose beautie commonlie erreth the fairest of those of the maine, their comelinesse of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the seas. This neuertheless I vtterlie mislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier do sildome offend herein: that being of themselves without competent wit, they are so carelesse in the education of their children (wherein their husbands also are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither feare God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had bene used toward them in youth) might haue proued god members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their god seruice and industrie. I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are bozne within this land, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine: so set forth the same, so will I giue place to other men that list to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice,

The description of Britaine.

How Britaine at the first grew to be
divided into three portions.

Cap. 21.



After the coming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you have read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Goropius after his manner do utterly denie our historie in this behalfe) he made a generall surveye of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchieved conquest might yield unto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenient place wherein to erect a citie, he began there even the very same which at this date is called London, naming it Tremenanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen do call it still Tremenowth. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, so that he lived not above fiftene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and done, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certaine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arrivall by the space of foure and twentie yeares, he finished his daies at Tremenanton aforesaid, being in his pong and flourishing age, where his carcase was honourable interred. As for the manner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant: I meane whether it grew unto him by defect of nature, or force of grievous wounds received in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, dividing it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then living, whereof the eldest exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my conjecture giueth me.

Locrine.

Lhoegria.

Camber.
Cambria.

To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gave the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this date is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the east with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the rivers Dea and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I have spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dea, toward the west (which parcell in these daies containeth Southwailes and Northwailes) with sundrie Ilands adjacent to the same, the whole being in manner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streams, whereby it seemeth also a peninsula: or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betwene their maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still unto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we have from the Saxons, who in time past did use the word Walsh in such sort as we do Strange: for as

we call all those strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Walsh which were not of their countrie.

The third and last part of the Iland he allotted unto Albanact his yongest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I have said before) whose portion seemed for

Albanact.

circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in manner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you have regard to the severall

commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for what soever the first & second have in plenty of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding store of fish, rich metall, quarries of stone, and abundance of wild fowle: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Wyte, and after the aforesaid manner. This later parcell at the first, took the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being under the regiment of a duke) retaineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certaine Scots that came over from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is divided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some do note the Humber, so that Albania (as Wyte left it) contained all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, unto the point of Cathnesse.

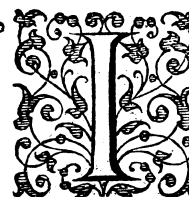
Albania.

To conclude, Wyte having divided his kingdome after this manner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yet he ended his life; and being solemnly interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and took possession of their provinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scythians, and left none issue behind him to succeed him in that kingdome.

Locrine king also of Scotland.

After what manner the souereigntie
of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes
of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.



It is possible that some of the Scottish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offense with me for meaning that the principalltie of the north parts of this Ile hath always belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diverse, and now finally brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peradventure to content a wrangling mind, with there is (or at the least) hath bene nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to do in Scotland.

How their historiographers have attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to avoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their booke indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments together, wherein chieslie I have used the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawyer, who wrote thereof

The Scots always desirous to shake off & English subiection, have often made crall & odious attempts so to do, but in vain.

thereof (of set purpose) to king Edward the first, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beside these other, whereof the first dedicated his treatise to Henrie the fourth, the second to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the first, as their writings yet extant do abundantly beare witnesse. The title also that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: These remembrances following are found in chronicles authorized, remaining in diuerse monasteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and shewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the souereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Here vnto you haue heard already, what diuision Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof each of his children, so soon as he was interred, took seisure and possession. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanad was slaine, whereupon Locrinus and Camber raising their powers, reuenged his death: and finally the said Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, seized it into his owne hands (as errecheated whole vnto himselfe) without yelbing any part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto any portion of the same. Whereby then (saith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire seigniorie ouer Albania consisted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer since hath continued, in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit of the collateral ascension from the yongest, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this date.

Chzanke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to saie, the sonne of Pempis, sonne of Padan, sonne of the same Locrine builded in Albania the castell of Padens, now called Ederborough (so called of Aidan sometime king of Scotland, but at the first named Cair Pindo Agnes. i. the castell on mount Agnes, and the castell of virgins) and the castell of Alcluth or Alclude, now called Dunbruton, as the Scottish Hector Boetius confesseth: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that our Chzanke was then thereof seized. This Chzanke reigned in the said state ouer them a long time; after whose death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two sisters sonnes, Mogan and Conedage, lineall heires from the said Chzanke, who brotherlie at the first diuided the realme between them; so that Mogan had I. hoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But shortly after Mogan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and thereupon denouncing warre, death miserable ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obtained the whole empire of all Britaine: in which state he remained during his naturall life.

From him the same lineallie descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Corbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferrer, and Porrer. This Porrer, requiring like diuision of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (best loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once. Whereupon their vnaturall mother, bling his naturall malice for the death of his one sonne (without regard of the losing of both) miserable slue the other in his bed mistrusting no such treason.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scottish as other, was the next inheritor to the whole empire: but

lacking power (the onelie meane in those daies to obtaine right) he was contented to diuide the same among foure of his kinsmen; so that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his sonne Dunwallo Pulmutius made warre vpon these foure kings, and at last ouercame them, and so recovered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the berie first of that mettall (if any at all were before in use) that was woone among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people should assemble for prayer; to which temples he gaue benefit of sanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in cases of murder and felonie, whereby a these that liued and made his art of fighting, should for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beleueing assuredlie, that the gods (for then they supposed manie) would by miracle assigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this date, few causes by late positive laws among vs excepted, wherein the benefit of wager of battell is restrained. By which obedience to his lawes, it doth manifestlie appere, that this Dunwallo was then seized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this estate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Bienne the sonnes also of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourable diuide the land betweene them; so that Beline had I. hoegres, & Bienne had Albania: but for that this Bienne (a subiect) without the consent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline seized Albania into his owne hands, and thereupon caused the notable waies priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the sea by north Cathnesse in Scotland. In like sort to and for the better maintenance of religion in those daies, he constituted ministers called archclamines, in sundrie places of this Iland (who in their seuerall functions resembled the bishops of our times) the one of which remained at Chzanke now called Porke, and the whole region Caerbzantonia (whereof Ptolomie also speaketh but not without wresting of the name) whose power extended to the uttermost bounds of Albania, whereby likewise appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Uigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the said Beline, who fauourable made partition, so that Uigenius had all the land from Pumber by south, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Uigenius died, and Peridurus succeeded, and thereby obtained the whole, from whom the same quietlie descended, and was by his posteritie accordingly inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the first of that name. In his time an obscure nation (by most writers supposed Scythians) passed by seas from Ireland, and arrived in that part of Britaine called Albania: against whom this Coell assembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorously slue him.

This Fergus was therefore, in reward of his great prowesse, made there king, whereupon they sat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themselves Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thousand six hundred and seuentene yeares after the Scottish accompt, which by iust computation and confession of all their owne writers, is six hundred yeares lacking ten, after that

Butus

Butus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being intioed by him and his posteritie befoze their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large p̄scriptiō. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares befoze inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietlie intioed, is the best title that all their owne w̄riters can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: where-
 10 by it most euidently appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there befoze, in p̄oofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of He-
ctor Boecius
lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Dykeie, be-
 twēne Dummefrie and the water of Thane, was gi-
 uen vnto one Coznath, a capteine and his people. The lands betwēne the water of Thane & Des, now
 called Kosse, being in b̄edth from Cromart to the
 mouth of the water of Loch, were giuen to Lu-
 tozke, another capteine and his people. The lands be-
 twēne Spate and Des, from the Almane seas to
 the Ireland seas, now called Murraie land, were gi-
 uen to one Marroch and his people. The land of Tha-
 lia, now called Boin Anze, Bogewall, Cartot, For-
 martine, and Botoguan, were giuen to one Thalis
 and his people. The lands of Par Bagezenoch, and
 Lochgubaber, were giuen to Spartach and his peo-
 ple. The lands of Lozne and Baintier, with the hilles
 and mounteins thereof, lieng from Par to the Ire-
 land seas, were giuen to capteine Panance and his
 people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus,
 another capteine and his people. The lands of Stra-
 bzann, & Bawdowane lieng west from Dunkell,
 were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins.
 The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a ca-
 pteine. The lands of Linnor & Clidsdale were allot-
 ted to Hologona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now
 called Kile, Carrike & Coningham, were giuen to
 Silurh another capteine. The lands of Wigance
 now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie
 called Wigandes, which (as their best men) were ap-
 pointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward ex-
 pelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie,
 whereby it is confessed to be befoze inhabited by Bri-
 tons. The residue of the land now called Scotland;
 that is to saie: Peirnis, Angus, Steremond, Col-
 rie, Strahern, Pirth, Fisse, Striueling, Callender,
 Calderwood, Loughthian, Spers, Teuedale, with o-
 ther the rement Dales, and the Sheridome, of Ber-
 wicke, were then entioed by a nation mingled in
 marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience,
 whose capteine called Weringer buylded the castell
 and towne of Bertwicke vpon Tweede, & these peo-
 ple were called Pits, vpon whome by the death of
 this Coell, these Scots had oportunitie to vse wars,
 whereof they ceased not, vntill such time as it plea-
 sed God to appoint another Coell king of Britons,
 against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like vic-
 tozie to the first, yet he p̄uailed and ceased not his
 warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out
 of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer da-
 red to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Si-
 cill king of Britons, which was the twelfth king af-
 ter this Coell. During all which time the countrie
 was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the
 Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, be-
 twēne this Sicill and his brother Biede to their best
 aduantage, arrised againe in Albania, & there made
 one Keuther their king.

Berouicum po-
tius à Berubio
promontorio.

Vpon this their new arriuall, new warre
 was made vpon them by this Sicill king of Bri-
 tons, in which warre Keuther their new king died,
 and Hereus succeeded, against whome the warre of
 Britons ceased not, vntill he finally submitted him-

selfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Chranke,
 that is Porke, where shortly after the tenth yeare of
 his reigne he died. Finneane brother of Josine succe-
 ded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who
 shortly after (compelled by the warres of the same
 Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better as-
 surance of his faith and obeisance to the king of Bri-
 tons, deliuered his sonne Durfus into the hands of
 this Sicill: who fantasieing the child, and hoping by
 10 his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not
 saie duplicittie saith Adams) married him in the end
 to Agasia his owne daughter.

This Durfus was their next king; but for that
 he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed
 she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for
 the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue
 liked him the better, and therefore not onelic traito-
 rouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of
 their malice, disinherited (as much as in them
 20 was) the issues of the same Durfus and Agasia.
 Hereupon new warre sprong betwēne them and
 vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to
 receiue Cdeir to their king, the next in blood then
 liuing, descended from Durfus and Agasia, and
 thereby the blood of the Britons, of the part of the
 mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so
 that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this
 bond of loue to hold. For shortly after this Cdeir
 attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the
 repulse of Iulius Cesar, as their owne author Boe-
 tius confesseth, who commanded the same as his sub-
 iect. But Iulius Cesar, after his third arriuall,
 by treason of Androgenus p̄uailed against the Bri-
 tons, and thereupon pursued this Cdeir into Scot-
 land; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries)
 subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the
 liuing Scots denie it, their dead w̄riters confesse
 that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe
 Camelon, the principall citie of Pits. And in to-
 ken of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a
 round temple of stone, which remained in some per-
 fection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called
 the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuer-
 ted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this
 daie.

Marinus the sonne of Arufragus, being king of
 all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scythian,
 with a great rabble of nēdie souldiours, came to the
 water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the
 sea, diuiding Pentland from Fisse: against whome
 this Marinus assembled a power, by which he slue this
 Roderike, and discomfited his people in Westmer-
 land: but to those that remained alive, he gaue the
 countrie of Cathnes in Scotland, which p̄uoueth it
 to be within his owne dominion.

Coell the sonne of this Marinus had three Lactius,
 counted the first christian king of this nation: he
 conuerted the three archbishops of this land into bi-
 shopps, and ordeined bishops vnto ech of them. The
 first remained at London, and his power extended
 from the furthest part of Coznewall to Humber wa-
 ter. The second remained at Porke, and his power
 stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all
 Scotland. The third remained at Caerleon vpon
 the riuer of Wistke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his
 power extended from Seuerne through all Wales.
 Some w̄rite that he made but two, and turned their
 names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Can-
 turburie, the other at Porke: yet they confesse that
 he of Porke had iurisdiction through all Scotland:
 either of which is sufficient to p̄oue Scotland to be
 then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in blood a
 Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the
 bodis

bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephew of Cassibelane, was hostlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancelster Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Isles into Scotland. But hereupon this Senerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and false parts together, droue them all out of the maine land into Isles, the bittermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancelstor to this Senerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defense and libertie had slaine the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor full desert appeale.

Basilius.

Antoninus Basilius borne of a Briton woman, and Geta bozne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Senerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Fein Britons held with Basilius, setwer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Basilius remained emperour, against whom Caracius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scythians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill.

Coill, descended of the blood of the ancient kings of this land, was hostlie after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state ouer them thirtene or fouertene yeares.

Constantine.

Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octavius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewisses (which some expound to be afterward called west Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octavius defrauded this trust, and tooke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once banquished by Leonine Traheron, great uncle to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he regained againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperour sent Maximian his kinsman hither (in proesse of time) to destroye the same Octavius, who in singular battell discomfited him: Whereupon this Maximian, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in blood, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximian made warre vpon the Scots and Scythians within Britaine, and reassed not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and diuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finally he inhabited all Scotland with Britons: no man, woman, nor child of the Scottish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had bene subiects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which bea-

reth title of Helena vnto his sonne Constantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Auguste, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conuolue it into this treatise whilist I had his booke. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheless, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were rescued. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Greeke) *Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quancunque iacturam, &c.*

About fise and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximian) with the helpe of Conan or Conan and Helga, the Scots newlie arrived in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But because they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduerture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yere of our Lord, fouse hundred and two and twentie, as they themselves do write.

Maximian.

Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and uncle to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons: but to appeale the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he married Whilla eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, invading Gallowaie, Fers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durfus the king of Picts, and criled all their people out of the continent land: whereupon the few number of Scots then remaining a lue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obtained quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Meridocke into Armerica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme toke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forein writers it keepeth vnto this daie.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being moued betwene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed together againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where this realme being divided in manie factions they ouercame one. And hereupon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for laeing of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partition before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be belueued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell losing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie unlikely if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest becometh. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finally at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the

The description of Britaine.

the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne belicfe in this tale. For he saith that Gallfride, and sundrie other authentike wryters, diuerlie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further setting how it behooueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraicheth himselfe, saying that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betwene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortly to inioine all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had bene their owne by any conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, couline of Brites bloud to this partman, and his nereest heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortly in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recovered Scotland out of their hands, and toke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Hottiger shortly after obtained the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing thereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke dooth off fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countrymen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland, ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Isles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordingly inioine. But when this Hengest in procelle of time thirfted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambiose the sonne of Constantine, the last inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed together, for he was taken prisoner by Elouph de Samoz, a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie stricken off at the commandement of Aurilambiose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but when the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whom and his people this Aurilambiose gaue the countie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subjects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Uter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambiose was next king of the Britons, against whom, these swoyne Saxons now for swoyne subjects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albantia againe recovered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of this Uter, begotten before the marriage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succeeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scottish wryters confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obedience of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their feet in the gulfesfull paths of their predecessours, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Powke, Holwell king of the lesse Britaine couline to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people)

besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Vpon this he toke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were swoyne his subjects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Angulfan to be their king and gouernour, Arlan king of Irland, and Spurfrence king of Dykeneie. He made an archbishop of Powke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Castrleon, had there all the kings that were subjects vnto him, among which, Angulfan the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortly after succeeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Irland, the Orkneys, Powwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthan, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obtained at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subject to this Malgo.

Cadwan succeeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subjects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agreed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon subdued and inioined: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whereupon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason resseised the countie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the viceroies of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subjects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Mwald was shortly after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subject to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Mwalde the brother of this Mwald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obedience to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subjects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatly increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne wryters do confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subjects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerable, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and couline Ino; and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betwene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 The iniurie of Englishmen done to any of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both,

2 When Frenchmen be invaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels

Some thinke the Britons to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Nicholas
Adams.

« vittels by the French.

« 3 When Scots be invaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come upon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

« 4 None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other, &c.

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praisling of it, as onlie admittable by inforced necessitie, and to be used for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselves, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by losing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessities more abundant than France) the Scots fele, and we perfectly know. What ruine of their colonies, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their seed, for as they did hereby solve dissention, so did they shortly after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league hostile to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdom, but also usurped upon the kingdom of Picts. Whereupon Edwine king of England, made one Hudenis king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he toke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was stricken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Wasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

« Albright king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons hostile after, for that the Scots had of themselves elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceased not his war against them, untill their king and people fled into the Isles, with whom at the last upon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betwene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scottish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbixton, shall be march in the west parts betwene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbixton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroyed by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodities thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betwene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scottish sea, march betwene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Albright had the castle of Sterling, where first he caused to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage over the water of Frith, in the midst thereof they made a crosse, under which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arrived in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom De-

bright had before made king: whereupon Eadulf or Ethelwulf, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarry: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulf granted the Peter pence, of which albeir Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the payment thereof continued in this realme euer after untill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet do paie it, by reason of that grant, which proueth them to be then under his obedience.

« Alured or Alfred succeeded in the kingdom of England, and reigned noble ouer the whole monarchy of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anye propertie; which law Gregour, whom this Alured had made king of Scots, obeyed; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also proueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constrained Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generally he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reseruing or making anye exception of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruice and obedience of Donald king of Scots with five thousand horsemen, against one Garmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obedience with Alured.

« Edward the first of that name called Cyslod sonne of this Alured succeeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whom Sithyric a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obedience. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countryman a Scot confesse: besides Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Forke, whilst the warres lasted, the king of Scots seined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to please his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Whobett he met with all their vntruthes at Worthingfeld in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselves to haue lost more people than were remembred in anye age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie whereof doth follow:

I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mauld my wife.

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the platine simplicitie of mens doings in those daies; but also a full proofe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-

scored

foyled to his whole kingdome, he entered into religⁱon, and there thoyllie after died.

Then Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to haue two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one Malcolme to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelstane.

Edmund brother of Athelstane succeeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre
this to an
Edward.

Edred or Edred brother to this Edmund succeeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irise then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Oswight king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their said king also once in euerie yere at certeine principall feasts (whereat the king did vse to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was done by the noble men or pères according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successours, whereat to lie, and refresh themselves in their iournies, whensoeuer they should come vnto do their homages: and finally a peece of ground lying beside the new palace of Westminster, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posteritie was inioined vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resumed into the king of Englands hand. The house is decayed, but the ground where it stood is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age
and wardship
of heires.

Howeouer, Edgar made this law, that no man should succeed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights service, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yeres: because by interment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which proueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obedience.

In the yere of our Lord 974, Rinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Isles, Duuenall king of South-wales, Sifferth and Hotwell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowate, & Fuhill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint Johns to service, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and sitting the same vpon the water of Dée, made the said kings to row the barge, saying that his successours might well be iollull to haue the prerogative of so great honour, and the superiortie of so manie mightie princes to be subiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next

king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolme king of Scotland to be poisoned. Whereupon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Whereupon king Edward proclaimed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same

10 king Edward.

Ethelred, brother of this Edward succeeded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolme then king of Scots. But thoyllie after, this Malcolme forsookefullie submitted himselfe into the defense of Ethelred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whose service at last Ethelred recovered his realme againe out of

20 the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, sonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whose time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betwene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betwene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the rest beyond Humber, with the seigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Whereupon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accustomable resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like seruices, so long as they liued together. This Canutus in memorie of his victorie, and glorie of his seigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buckingham in Scotland, (where a field betwene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwate and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolme accordingly performed.

Edward called the Confessor, sonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he toke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands vntill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeres. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scots obeyed, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obserued to this day, and direatlie proueth the whole to be then vnder his obedience.

To whome
the marriage
of the heire
pertineth.

By reason of this law, Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minority, one Mabebeth a Scot traitorously vsurped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which

which the said Macbeth was overcome and slaine. Whereupon the said Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yere of the reigne of king Edward aforesaid. This Malcolme also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married unto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessor for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the
Confessor.

Moreover, Edward of England, having no issue of his bodie, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Godwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would usurpe the crowne, if he should leave it to his cousin Edgar (being then within age) and partly by the petition of his subjects, who before had sworn never to receive any kings over them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers asseme) demise the crowne of great Britaine unto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was promise in bond betwene them: for Emma daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife unto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole blood to the same Emma. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that partly to extinguishe the mistrust of other titles, and partly for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath bene so written ever since the time of his arrivall.

William
Bastard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherefore to bring the Scots to full obedience after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessor; he entered Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abertine in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

William
Rufus.

William surnamed Rufus, sonne to this William called the Conquerour, succeeded next in the throne of England, to whom the said Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scottishmen did chose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus depose him, and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finally, this Dunkane was slaine by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was depose; and Edgar son of Malcolme, and brother to the last Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beaulerke the sonne of William called the Conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succeeded to the crowne of England, to whom the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beaulerke married David the daughter of Malcolme II. of Scots, and by hir had issue David afterward empresse.

Alexander the sonne of Malcolme brother to this David was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had done before him.

David.

David called the empresse, daughter and heire to Henrie Beaulerke and David his wife, received homage of David, brother to hir and to this Alexan-

der next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This David the empresse gave unto David in the marriage, David the daughter and heire of Godofinus earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And here in their evasion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earldome of Huntingdon. For this David was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this marriage; & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beaulerke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whom I find this epitaph worthie to be remembered:

*Ortu magna, viro maior sed maxima pariter,
Hic iacet Henrici filius, sponsi parentis.*

In the yere of our Lord 1136, and first yere of the reigne of king Stephen, the said David king of Scots being required to do his homage, refused it: for so much as he had done homage to David the empresse before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said David did homage to king Stephen.

Henrie called Fitz empresse, the sonne of David Henrie 2. the empresse daughter of David, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He received homage for Scotland of Malcolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said David their last king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended upon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was never renewed after the last division of their countrie by Albright king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediately seized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres upon him in Scotland: during which the same Malcolme died without issue of his bodie.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for any earldome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second, with a reservation of the dutie to king Henrie the second his father. Also the earldome of Huntingdon was (as ye have heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and never after restored to the crowne of Scotland.

Because they
were taken
from him
before.

This William did afterward attend upon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and upon the first of February he returned, and upon the first of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token also of his perpetuall subjection to the crowne of England, he offered up his cloake, his saddle, and his speare at the high altar in Poike: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediately he moved cruell warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God took the defense of king Henries part, and delivred the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentieth yere of his reigne. But at the last, at the sute of David his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his trespasses; to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie, which

app.

which he did in all things accordingly, sealing his charters thereof with the great seale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also compised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for ever. And hereby on he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earldome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was already by him surrendered. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwicke, Edenborough, Worborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as mortgage into the hands of king Henrie, untill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land other wise redeemed, or ener after came to anie Scottish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earldome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scottish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Whereouer I read this note herof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots both homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to do the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselves to be of his prouince and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that *Rex Anglia dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, et alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honours, bishopricks, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell.

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Roulard Calmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Fergus prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conservation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Alrich, for whose redemption the whole realme was taxed at great summes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributozie, and paid two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and do his homage, which William came to Lincoln in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and of all the people there assembled, and therevnto toke his oath and was sworn vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liageman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreover that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king John, as to their chiefe lord against all manner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put John bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishopricke, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should moue and induce the same William; and if need required by his roiall power and prerogative ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancoz against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishopricke againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and five & twentieth of the reigne of Henrie sonne to king John, the same Henrie and the quene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmase, for the solemnization of a mariage made in the feast of saint Stephen the martyr the same yeare, betwene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the first and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie keepe all such appointments, as had bene made betwene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minority king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vnder the aid of five thousand Scottishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one and twentieth yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this manner.

I.D.N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had married Harigo, sonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter also shortly after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: wherevpon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to send into Norwaie, to conueie this yong quene into England

England to him, whome he intended to haue married to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betwene both realmes. Whereupon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon this and delates of minoritie nor contempt, but most gladiie consented, and thereupon sent two noble men of Scotland into Fozwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their coming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Matow daughter of Malcolm sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest boile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Ballioll to be king thereof, the weakie title betwene him, Wyse, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland committed to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superiority of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shortly after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie doth appeare.

The Ballioll in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcastell vpon saint Steuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortly after defrauding the benigne godnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Whereupon king Edward invaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and took all the strengths thereof. Whereupon Ballioll king of Scots came vnto him to Hauntroffe in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Bertwicke, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subjects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and hereupon all their lawes, processe, all iudgements, gifts of offices and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearfall, writeth thereof in this manner.

In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same John king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Whereupon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastell vpon Tyne, passed the water of Tweed, besieged Bertwicke, and got it. Also he won the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this burnt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Robesbozow, and the castell of Cedenbozow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the Land. In the incane season, the said king John of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our

prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towre of Bechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that the said John and all the Scots should vterlie submit themselves to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. Where also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he acknowledging his simplesse and great offense done to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and free will yielded up all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went south to see the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbey of Scone, which was of canons regular, where he took the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were wont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a dreame that thone, & sent it to the abbey of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire thereof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be seene.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Bertwicke: and there he took homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Marischall earle of Surrie and Southwar lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasurer, and William Wyndesore iustice of Scotland, and shortly after sent king John to the Tower of London, and John Comin, and the earle Wadenauth, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said John king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroye their castles, towne and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages sustained in the warres; but king John and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, with their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer moued with pittie, granted them their liues; so that they would do their homage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbey of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for ever. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displayed, he and all his power should drawe thereunto. And that neither he or anie of his from thenceforth should beare arms against the king of England or anie of his blond. Finallie, the king rewardeing with great gifts the said king John and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Bertwicke furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fatohirke on saint Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine thre score thousand Scots, & William

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pp. 11. liam

Ham Wallis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawn, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

This was done upon the nine & twentieth of Januarie, 1306.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruce to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto because of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruce slew him at Drumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Hereupon the king of England assembled a great host, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruce, slew eight thousand Scots, & took the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to death because they were forsworne.

Edward bozne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne entoid Scotland peaceable, doing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, untill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruce conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Hereupon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre upon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruce and his partakers being alreadye accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being unfortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held forth his warres against Bruce, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward bozne at Winbore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of sixteen peares, in whose minoritye the Scots practised with Isabel mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose god will therein they obtained, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds, sterling, in three peares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds sterling yerlie. But because the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being with in age, the same release proceeded not; albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three peares, in which their mortie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue bene paid, were expired, our king Edward invaded Scotland, and ceased not the warre, untill David the sonne of Robert le Bruce (then by the election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said David Bruce had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married Jane the sister of this king Edward: he moved by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this David Bruce, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Jane (sauing the reuerfion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same David Bruce was right well contented, and thereupon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Whobest, hostilis after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this David procured to dissolue this same estate taile, and thereupon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also invaded England, whilst king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this David was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntuith, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Marr, Teudale, Tweedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and

new marches set betwene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Solwaye bedge. Which when this David went about to recover againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleven peares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward entoid Scotland peaceable, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his forsworn sister, wife of this David, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Whereupon it was concluded, that for this rebellion David should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes sterling, and thereto restore all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordingly. And for the better assurance of his obedience also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of David, touching his delings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles doe report, that in the yeare of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the first yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselves, or by their wives, did the like. Whereupon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kingborne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slew 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Galtmorie (or otherwile Gladmorie) were slaine five earls, thirtene barons, a hundred and thre score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirtene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great host, and came to Berwike upon Tweed, and laid siege thereto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & armed.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apartelled their people either of them in foure batels: and upon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hosts, and there were discomfited of the Scots five and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and thre hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastle upon Tyne, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, David Bruce by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great host vnto Penulls croffe: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Douglas with Morise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with David did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots toone the towne of Berwike, but not the castell. Whereupon the

the king came thither with a great host, and anon the towne was yielded by without any resistance.

Edward Balliol, considering that God did so marvellous and gracious things for king Edward, at his owne will gave by the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rothesborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in presence of all his lords spirituall and temporall, let crowne himselfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and so came ouer into England.

Richard the sonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, sonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the said Jane, the wife of the said king David of Scotland was deceased without issue, and being informed how the Scots desired to their uttermost power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war against them, where in he burnt Edinburgh, spoiled all their countrey, took all their holds, & held continuallie war against them untill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued these warres begun against them by king Richard, and ceased not untill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) resigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and delivered his sonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his custodie, wardship and disposition, as of his superiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confessor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within five yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this estate ouer them foureteene yeares.

Henrie the fifth of that name, sonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres against the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his superiour lord, with a convenient number of Scots, notwithstanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (having not fullie accomplished the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reason and law respited. Finally the said James with diuerse other lords attended vpon the corps of the said Henrie vnto Westminster, as to his dutie appertained.

Henrie the sixth, the sonne of this Henrie the fifth, was next king of England, to whome the seigniorie of Scotland & custodie of this James by right, law, and reason descended, married the same James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Summerset, at saint Marie ouer Isle in Southwarke, and took for the value of this marriage, the summe of one hundred thousand markes sterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the same king Henrie the sixth, for the kingdom of Scotland at Windsor, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, untill the daies of king Henrie the seventh, grandfather to our soueraigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath bene molested with diuersitie of titles, in which vnnmet time neither law nor reason admit prescription to the preiudice of any right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war against the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, sufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the same superiouritie ouer them.

After whose death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our soueraigne lord king Henrie the eighth, excused not the number of seauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of

the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their last king, which so continued the space of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritye was by all law and reason an impediment to himselfe to make homage; so was the same by like reason an impediment to the king of this realme to demand any, so that the whole time of intermission of our claime in the time of the said king Henrie the eighth, is deduced vnto the number of thirtie yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall sometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

Having hitherto discoursed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scottish kingdom: I haue now thought good to adde here vnto the description of two walles that were (in times past) limits vnto both the said regions, and therefore to be touched in this first booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the estate of the whole Island; and no lesse famous than that which Anastasius Dicorus made afterward from the Cyrene vnto the Thracian sea, containing 420 furlongs in length, and twelue fot in bredth, & distant from Constantino-ple 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turcke and timber. The author therefore of the first wall was Hadrian the emperor, who (as Aelius Spartianus saith) erected the same of foure score miles in length, twelue fot in heighth, and eight in bredth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill sort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all.

After his time Severus the emperor comming againe into this Ile (where he had serued before in repression of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongst other things he made another wall (but of stone) betweene eightie and a hundred miles from the first, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both sides also to the sea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murseueri, or S. wall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth untill these daies in fresh memorie, by reason of the ruines & square stones there oft found, whose inscriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthy the noting also, how that in this boiage he lost 50000 men in the Scottish side, by one occasion and other, which hinderance so incensed him, that he determined utterly to ertingnish their memorie from vnder heauen, and had so done in deed, if his life had indured but untill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince contained two and thirtie miles, whereby the bredth of this Island there, and length of the wall contained onely so manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chiefe for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things saith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus est) muro per transuersum insulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finem oceani munivit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chiefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both sides euen to the verie Ocean.

That this wall was of stone also, the ruines thereof (which haue ministered much matter to such as dwell nere there vnto in their buildings) is triall sufficient. Whereby in like sort it commeth to passe, that where

The first beginning of the Picts wall.

The finisher of the wall.

The wall goeth not streight by a line, but in and out in manie places.

The stile of the wall.

Ap. iii. the

Two other
walls.

A rampire.

The course of
the wall from
west to east.

the solle about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as untill this date maie evidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onlie partitions betwene these two kingdoms, sith Julius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Urbicus made beyond the same, of turf, in the time of the said prince, who for his victories in Britaine was also called Britannicus, which neuertheless was often throlone downe by the Scots, and cistones repaired againe, untill it was given ouer and relinquished altogether. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certaine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Severus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in such wise, that the Scottish aduerfarie had much ado to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled dolene great parcels of the same, to make their access more easie into the south parts: but as it was cistones repaired againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Maximilian, at which season the land was in manner left void of soldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlwall and the north Line, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Severus yet standing, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Holne to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Ueder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Carleill, then through the baronie of Lincolne, and Gillingham, on the north side of the river Irthing or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbrie of Leuercoff. Thence three miles about Leuercoff, and about the confluence of Arding, and the Pulrose becke (which diuideth Gillingham in Cumberland, from south Tyndale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the river to Swensheld, Carraw (peradventure Cairn:en tober) to Walbry, and so ouer south Line, to Cockle tower, Portgate, Walton theles, Winchester, Kitchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastell, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastell, and then croaketh vp toward Timmouth unto Walleford, three miles from the mouth of the said river, so called because the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the British wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious byicks about the same nere vnto Carleill, beside the excellent cornellines and other colliie stones already intailed for scales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them over as not incident to my purpose.

In like maner I would gladlie also haue set downe the course of Offas ditch, which was march betwene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, because it is not a thing generall to the whole Island, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Eirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forrest, by est of Crekith, Cauch hill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Discoide, and hauing brought it hitherto,

either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Wyke, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the river of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dee, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Island, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; *Atedo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reiected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawn a more absolute peece of workmanship, whereunto my vnskillfulnesse (I hope) shall proue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of England.

Chap. 24.

As haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thanks of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproof, and in stead of fame purchased vnto themselves nought else but mere discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre do publish vnpromisable and pernicious volumes, whereby they do consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch any man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those booke were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, containing wonderfull things collected of our Island. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnnmeet to remember them any more: for who is he which will belaeue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men: though Saxo seeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Isles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Islands, where of some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie nere hand, onlie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire: they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were lately deceased: for as a candle (said they) burneth none whilst it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthy sauer: so these Gods, whilst they liued, were either

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once decreased, they so moue the heauens and aire, that much mischæse doth insue effsones vpon the same.

Being also inquisitiue of the state of other Isles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherein Saturne being overtaken with a dead sleepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne also had manie spirits attending vpon him in sundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is easie to conceiue, with what vaine stuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of such wryters as we haue too manie, so among the said rable Geruale of Silberie is not the least famous, a man as it were euen sold to vttter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandelburie hilles, that lie within sight & by south of Cambridge (where the Vikings incamped sometime, when they entered into this Island) and of a spirit that would of custome in a moone shine night (if he were chalenged and called thereunto) run at tilt and turne in complete armour with any knight or gentleman whomsoeuer, in that place: and how one Osbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himselfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one esquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and answered his challenge, so that running together verie fiercelie, they met with such rigour, that the answerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot so long, till Osbert ouercame and braue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horse behind him, which was of huge stature, blacke (as he saith) of colour, with his furniture of the same hue, and whereupon he seized, giuing him vnto his page, who carried him home, and there kept him till it was nere daie, during which space he was scene of manie. But when the daie light began to shew it selfe somewhat clere, the beast stamped and snorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane season Osbert being verie faint, and wearing wearie (for he was sore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leastwise dissembled to know it) caused his leg-harnesse or steele-bootes to be pulled off, which his friends saw to be full of blood spilled in the volage. But let who so list beleue it, sith it is either a fable deuised, or some bluelish illusion, if any such thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eyes, I purpose here to set downe no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am credible informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not any thing more odious than to discredit themselves by lying. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the hilles called the Peke, so violent and strong, that at certeine times if a man do cast his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it issueth, it dyrectly the same backe againe, holding it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this also Giraldus speaketh.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certeine stones vpon the plaine of Salisbury, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but also for their

greatnesse & strange maner of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which seemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banquet, which Hengist and his Saxons produced for them, where they were also buried, and Hoztigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be scene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth also, that these were brought from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and cartage by land, I thinke few men can safely imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which some call *Carter Acoli*, but in English Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the passage is large and nothing noisome: so diuerse that haue aduentured to go into the same, could neuer as yet find the end of that wate, neither see any other thing than pretie riuersets and streames, which they often crossed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerstethire, and thence the said waters run till they meet with the second Ar that riseth in Dowie hole.

The fourth is no lesse notable than any of the other. For westward vpon certeine hilles a man shall see the clouds gather together in faire weather vnto a certeine thicknesse, and by and by to spread themselves abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the sudden. The causes of which dispersion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: so manie men coniecture great store of water to be in those hilles, & verie nere at hand, if it were needfull to be sought for.

Besides these foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riuerset that falleth into the Sauerne sea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or cliff next the first shore; whereunto if a man do laie his eare, he shall heare such noises as are commonlie made in smiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowses, and such like: whereof the superstitious sort do gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pet. The riuers that runneth by Cheshire changeth his channell euerie moneth: the cause whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it swell by force of any land-flood, but by some vehement wind it off ouer-runne his banks. In Shrotondonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a mouable Island, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fishes in it, as eels, troutes, and perches: but herein resteth the wonder, that all those haue but one rie a peece onelie, and the same situate in the right side of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed also by authors: There is a well in the forest of Onarelbore, whereof the said forest doth take the name; which water, beside that it is cold as Stir, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleshy, leaues of trees, and molle into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape. The like also is scene there in frogs, toadmes, and such like living creatures as fall into the same, and find no readie issue. Of this spring also Leland writeth thus; A little above March (but at the further banke of Rode riuers as I came) I saw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, because the water thereof distilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continually, which is so cold, and thereto of such nature, that what thing soeuer falleth out of those rockes into this pit, or groweth nere thereto, or be cast into it by mans hand,

Foure wonders of England.

The description of Britaine.

hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground fluceth out with this water from these hard rocks, which cleaving vnto those things, giueth them in time the forme of stones etc. Here vnto the place where Winburne monasterye sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of Alderleic, a mile from Kingswood, are stones daile found, perfectly fashioned like cockles and mightie oysters, which some dreame haue lien there cuer since the flood. In the cliffs betwene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vied. Howbeit, because it is much marvelled at as a rare thing, I do not thinke it to be vnnmet to be placed amongst our wonders. After Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Gloucestershire, where certeine oaks do grow, whose rotes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Siluercester towne also is said to containe fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is cozne-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut doونه: but even then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogether vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie causes nere to Woburnham, on the west side of the riuer Ainsote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of household cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of marvels verie much by a rehearfall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one nere saint Allaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Menozath Achan in Wales, where into men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large comies, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Goutherte parish, and of the notable carcasie that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a pole in Lough Lato, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Lato that cometh to Swanseic, which hath such a propertie, that it will bried no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recovery: but this peradventure may grow thogh the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe. There is also a lin in Wales, which in the one side beareth trotwts so red as famens, and in the other, which is the west-erlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie nere togither, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a marvellous fine water; the other altogether of contrarie qualities. Which is not a little to be mused at, considering

(I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from saint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into stone; and an other in Wales, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the same.

In Egenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of Bilkem) which is of marvellous nature, and much like to another well at Seull in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbereth and floweth twise in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the sea doth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea doth vse to ebbe; whereof some doo fable, that this well is ladie and mistress of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinal spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth bried a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, whereof the head of the smell is marvellously refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softe, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at Henleic, & an other at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to run at all in such times, whereof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleic parke in Kent, whereof (by god hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthe the rehearfall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceived of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the these banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he should saye soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft bene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauozing altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cutbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the baseness of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall vpon a daughter of the house of the Commers, as Leland saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vntuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so doth leaue a pit. Indeede the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cleere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadame depe. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the these, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Belloves alias Welis made report, how a duche marked after the fashion of the duches of the bishoppe of Durham, was put into the same betwixt Darlington and these banke, and afterward sate at a bidge not farre from master Clerenar house. If it were worthe the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found vnto often about Baldon, whereof the old inhabitants conceived an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and bozne by king Oswald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed sometimes against the Britissh infidels, vpon

upon a superstitious imagination, that those crosses should be their defense and shield against their adversaries. Beda calleth the place where the said field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Wiltsh wall, and the famous monasterie of Bathgildad. But more of this elsewhere. Neither will I speake of the little hillets seene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnskilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing else but *10* *11* *12* *13* *14* *15* *16* *17* *18* *19* *20* *21* *22* *23* *24* *25* *26* *27* *28* *29* *30* *31* *32* *33* *34* *35* *36* *37* *38* *39* *40* *41* *42* *43* *44* *45* *46* *47* *48* *49* *50* *51* *52* *53* *54* *55* *56* *57* *58* *59* *60* *61* *62* *63* *64* *65* *66* *67* *68* *69* *70* *71* *72* *73* *74* *75* *76* *77* *78* *79* *80* *81* *82* *83* *84* *85* *86* *87* *88* *89* *90* *91* *92* *93* *94* *95* *96* *97* *98* *99* *100* *101* *102* *103* *104* *105* *106* *107* *108* *109* *110* *111* *112* *113* *114* *115* *116* *117* *118* *119* *120* *121* *122* *123* *124* *125* *126* *127* *128* *129* *130* *131* *132* *133* *134* *135* *136* *137* *138* *139* *140* *141* *142* *143* *144* *145* *146* *147* *148* *149* *150* *151* *152* *153* *154* *155* *156* *157* *158* *159* *160* *161* *162* *163* 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Aethiopia: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie superstitious things thereof, but especiallie our Chymists, who make it of farre more vertue than our Smiths do their serue seed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of such effects as may well be performed indeed when the serue beareth seed, which is commonly *Ad calendis* *Græcis*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbiethire called Tideswell (so named of the two tide, as to ebbe and flow) whole water often seemeth to rise and fall, as the sea which is fortie miles from it doth usually accustom to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie course as the sea doth. Whobest, such diuersie are knowne to haue watched the same, it may be that at sometimes it riseth, but not continuallie; and that it so doth I am fullie persuaded to believe. But even though of the wonders of our countrie, least I do seeme by talking longer of them, wonderfullie to ouershot my selfe, and forget how much doth rest behind of the description of my countrie. As for those that are to be touched of Scotland, the description of that part shall in some part remember them.



The Contents of the second Booke.

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Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England.

Chap. 1.

There are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the first and greatest is subiect to the see of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of 30 *31* *32* *33* *34* *35* *36* *37* *38* *39* *40* *41* *42* *43* *44* *45* *46* *47* *48* *49* *50* *51* *52* *53* *54* *55* *56* *57* *58* *59* *60* *61* *62* *63* *64* *65* *66* *67* *68* *69* *70* *71* *72* *73* *74* *75* *76* *77* *78* *79* *80* *81* *82* *83* *84* *85* *86* *87* *88* *89* *90* *91* *92* *93* *94* *95* *96* *97* *98* *99* *100* *101* *102* *103* *104* *105* *106* *107* *108* *109* *110* *111* *112* *113* *114* *115* *116* *117* *118* *119* *120* *121* *122* *123* *124* *125* *126* *127* *128* *129* *130* *131* *132* *133* *134* *135* *136* *137* *138* *139* *140* *141* *142* *143* *144* *145* *146* *147* *148* *149* *150* *151* *152* *153* *154* *155* *156* *157* *158* *159* *160* *161* *162* *163* *164* *165* *166* *167* *168* *169* *170* *171* *172* *173* *174* *175* *176* *177* *178* *179* *180* *181* *182* *183* *184* *185* *186* *187* *188* *189* *190* *191* *192* *193* *194* *195* *196* *197* *198* *199* *200*

ther hath hir archbishop resident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the chiefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchie and iurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: so far forth as their commissions and seuerall circuits doe extend.

In old time there were three archbishops, and so manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Poike, and the third at Caerltheon upon Wike. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Angustine, and that of Poike remaineth (notwithstanding that the greatest part of his iurisdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scottish archbishop) so that of Caerltheon is viterlie extinguished, and the gouernement of the countrie vntied to that of Canturburie in spirituall cases: after it was once before removed to S. Davids

us in Wales by David successor to Dubritius, and uncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clerkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Bassard, and for a season after, before it was annexed unto the see of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primate of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his croone, his office is to set it upon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continually, although not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subiection unto them. That this is true, it may easilie appere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers writtē in print; wherein they haue sought not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigour and more than open parranie. Our aduersaries will peradventure denie this absolutelie, as they do manie other things apparant, though not without shamelesse impudencie, or at the least wise defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; because they imagine euerie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the saying of Peter, & examples of the primitive church, it may easilie appere. Some examples also of their demeanour (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstons the author of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for so much as the dealing of Robert the Normans against earle Godwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembered, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull manner than it hath heretofore bene deliuered vnto vs by the Normans writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two more Englishmen living in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or any other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to his circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie means into such fauour with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clerkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Whereupon therefore one Robert, a solie ambitious priest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Cadmus, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former see to William his countie man. Also also a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Norman clerkes, and their frends, being thus exalted, it was not long per they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they daile saw themselves to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secret counsell, which did not a little incense the hearts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betwene the seruants of earle Godwine and the French, whose maisters came ouer to see and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part fought for opportunitie of reuenge, which per long toke hold betwene them. For the said Robert, being called to be

archbishop of Canturburie, was no soner in possession of his see, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the marriage of his daughter) who also was readie to requit his demeanour with like malice; and so the mischief began. Whereupon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murder of Alfrede the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfrede and his brother comming into the land with five and thirtie saile, upon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arrived with them going out how they came to recover their right, to wit, the croone of England; therevnto the unskillfull young gentlemen, shewing themselves to like of the rumour that was spread in this behalfe, the report of their demeanour was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a compaignie forthwith of Danes prailie to laie wait for them, as they roode toward Gilsford, where Alfrede was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. His affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie swathed out with his craftie utterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frends, (for they had all conspired against the earle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Godwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending upon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Sitward earle of Northumberland surnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofric earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, endeavouring to persuaade him vnto the renocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saying plainelie, and swearing by saint John the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfrede alieue againe vnto his presence. Which which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coast.

Commig also vnto the shore and readie to take shipping, he kneeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Wolsenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to saile into Flanders vnto Baldwin the earle) and there praised openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted any thing against the kings person of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come safe vnto his countie, nor see his countie any more, but perish in this volage. And herewith he went aboard the ship that was provided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his frends to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countie: which yet more incensed the hearts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his frends, among whom also the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obtained from him, of which the Normans had no liking, whereupon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obtained aid, and invaded the land in sundry places. Finally joining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke nere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to encounter

incounter with them in the field. The king seeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French; and thereupon they not onelie vittelled them abundantly, but also receiued the earle and his chiefe friends into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings power was ready to ioine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was wonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flee to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countreimen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequels, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilst they did saue themselves elsewhere.

In the meane season the earles power would haue set vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staied them, saying after this manner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subiect with his soueraigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherefore to gaine a kingdom, I will do him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battell as he ran to the king, that stood altogether amazed, and falling at his feet he craved his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemble of his peers; and finally determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

The king (after he had paused a pretty while) seeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his feet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not unreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and frendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and summoned all his lords vnto a counsell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some containing matter of rape, other of robberte, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherewith the king (as a man now awaked out of sleepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie thre or foure excepted, whome he retained for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so nere him afterward as to be of his priuie counsell.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first boile raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelats of this see, against their lords and soueraignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Island.

Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also making a shew, as if he had bin verie unwilling to be placed in the see of Cantur-

burie, gaue this answer to the letters of such his friends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia nescio, quia sine nolo, eorum namque occupationes horreo, liberum afficians animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendumque est ne aratrum sancta ecclesia, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc one vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, dislorqueatur a*

10 recto. *Ego omnis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lane, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed sine cum hoc tauro coniungitur, videbitis pro disparitate trahentium, aratrum non recte procedere, &c.* Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I haue no skill, because I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole industrie to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrary. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oren of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swaue from the right forrow, by matching of an old shepe with a wild untamed bull. I am that old shepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture shew my selfe not altogether ingratfull to some, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wool: but if you match me with this bull, you shall see that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c. as foloweth in the pro-

20 cesse of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they ought nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the see of Rome.

And as the old cocke of Cantuarburie did crow in this behalfe, so the yong cockerels of other sees did imitate his demcanor, as may be seene by this one example also in king Stephens time, whiche to be remembred; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subiect: wherein also he was maintained by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

Eugenius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorum salutē & apostolicā benedictionē. Ad hac superna prouidentia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, ut Christianus populus ab eis pastua vite reciperet, & iam principes seculares, quam inferioris conditionis homines, ipsis pontificibus tanquam Christi vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens & honestus, & religionis amator, a nobilitate tua benigne tractandus est, & pro collata a Deo prudentia propensius honorandus.

60 *Quia ergo, sicut in veritate comperimus cum anima sua salute, ac sua ordinis periculo, fidelitate qua ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus praedictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immo pro beati Petri & nostrae reuerentia, cum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cum autem illud iuramentum prestare non possit, sufficiat discretionis tuae, ut simplici & veraci verbo promittat, quod lesionem tibi vel terrae tuae non inferat. Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.*

Thus we see, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subiects than stood at

The description of England.

so with their god will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quene Mary about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bying his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here ensuing.

Solomone attestante, didicimus quod mulier sapiens edificat domum; insipiens autem constructionem destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut religiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Deipra oculis habens, operibus pietatis interdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Ut ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitate tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis inijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopum, pro illius reuerentia, qui cum olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentius diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, ut monitis, hortatu, & consilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensius habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, prefato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, ut vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissione ab eo suscipere, quod lesionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terre sue non inferat. Dat. ut supra.

Is it not strange, that a piously order of religion (denied by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obey their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this manner; covertly incouraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they careful to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or perforce vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londonensis ecclesie canonici spiritu consilio in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abiicienda petitio, ita in hijs, que iuste desyderantur, effectum negare omnino non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quod Londonensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesie archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum suscepit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimum commendabilem reddidit. Inde est quod fraternitati vestre mandando consulimus, ut proposito vestro bono (quod ut credimus ex Deo est) & ut ex literis domini pape cognoscetis, non tepide, non lente debitum suum imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiat. Ipsius namque industria credimus, quod antiqua religio, & forma discipline, & grauitas habitus in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si que fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante,

& eodem presente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Whereby you see how king Stephen was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogative of holie church. And euen no lesse inquietnesse had another of our princes with John of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas proditoris non expers nostre regie maiestati insidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderstand the bottom of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For before the iniurie receiued of their superiours, how was it John dealt withall by the vile Cisterrians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanour; and vpon deniall to paye such summes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seisure to be made of such houses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were maintained in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselves with bell, boke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Wherevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yelde to their god graces: in so much that a meeting for pacification was appointed betwene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went off betwene him and the Cisterrian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, craving pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartlie requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in their prayers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreover full satisfaction of their damages sustained; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentieth of Nouember, after the Scottish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betwene John Stratford and Edward the third, &c.) a man may easily conceiue how proud the cleargie-men haue bene in former times, as holie presuming vpon the primasie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit referring the same vnto places more conuenient, I will ceasse to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obtained the prerogative aboue Poike (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloodshed & contention) so the archbishop of Poike is neuertheless written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a peece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowne the king, so this of Poike doth the like to the quene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath bene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers do report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to the

Twentie one
bishops
under & see of
Canturburie.
Onlie foure
see under the
archbishop of
york.

Deanes.

Canonries.

the number of one and twentie inferiour bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatness and circuit of the iurisdiction of yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seauen and twentie sees haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) doe beare the chiefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so nere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as heretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and unprofitable persons (as in times past they haue bene when most of these livings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and doe learnedlie set forth the glorie of God, and farther the ouerthrow of antichrist to the uttermost of their powers.

These churches are called cathedrall, because the bishops dwell or lie nere vnto the same, as bound to keepe continuall residence within their iurisdications, for the better oversight and gouernance of the same: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to saie a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie iurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praise, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by any of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came daillie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then finally parish churches were builded in euerie iurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpriests; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue some ease by building them nere hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the cleargie in old time of the same deanrie were appointed to repaire at sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole iurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be seene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praier, wherevnto they were first created. Moreover in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundaies and festiual daies, the canons doe make certaine ordinarie sermons by course, wherevnto great numbers of all estates doe orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the weeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his stead, doth read and expound some peece of holie scripture, wherevnto the people doe verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselves in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and counsell, which is one (and a no small) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander; *Epistola* 44. Petri Blesensis, where he saith; Because the cleargie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *supra dorsum ecclesie fabricant peccatores*, &c.) they so apply their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doe not erie vnto some place or other, within their iurisdications, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great liking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one see to another I will saie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one see to another; & left vnderdecided, till prescription by totall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefor.

They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or moe, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eyes: and these (besides their ordinarie courts, which are holden within so manie or moze of their seuerall deanries by themselves or their officials once in a moneth at the least) doe keepe ycarelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behaviour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the purse (where permutacion of penance is thought more gracious to the offender) as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the moze weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocesse, or his chancelor, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doe see the offenders gently reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise lately begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and created onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thirstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by moze knowledge through their presence at the same. Wherein also (for the most part) two of the yonger sort of ministers doe expound each after other some peece of the scriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assemble to choose at the first in euerie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a litle moze betwene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorized, & of a sound iudgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a brieue rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, whereby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable meeting. When all is done, if the first speakers haue shewed any peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in

The bishops
preach
gentle, whose
predecessors
heretofore
haue bene occupied in temporal affairs.

Archdeacons.

High commissions.

A prophesie or conference.

Ordinarie sermons.

Ordinarie explications of the scriptures

couraged to go forwarde. If they haue bene found to be slacke, or not found in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie repproued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of coarse (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselves with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places wekelie, in other once in fouretene daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elswhere twise in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to applie their books, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselves to bawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be goodlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as sathan the author of all mischefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred by aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as speakers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peradventure taking a misliking at the slender demerours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses do occupie the romes: haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon furnises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and daslie breeders of no small hurt & incontinence. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

Ministers & deacons.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vsed in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certaine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the first, by the cleargie of England, and some after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, do yeeld vnto the prince the entire tase of that their living for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpiwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

Faculties.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two livings, not distant either from other about thirtie miles; whereby it cometh to passe, that as his maiestie doth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vniuersitie of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peradventure in manie yeares.

Whanthe exclaime against such faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than livings to mainteine them. In deed when a living is void, there are so manie suitors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and most certeine: but when it cometh to the trial, who are sufficient, and who not, who are stated men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they

ought to be: and yet none more earnest, to make sute, to promise largelie, beate a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuertheless, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogether grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men; to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford doe yearelie send forth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall soon see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or five of the little churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed and amended.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small livings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixtene, seuen, &ene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the same. I saie more than before, because euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, doth impole and command a twentieth part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our livings, which hitherto hath not bene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the power soyt considered of, which now are equalie burdened.

We paie also the tenths of our livings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of each of them, as hath bene latelie made: which neuer thelesse in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie seeing the continual losses that the king of England sustained in France, vpon some motion of release made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Bourdeaux, which his grace berie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing that the cleargie had done, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse speed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauorable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the see of Rome, than they had shewed themselves vnto his bassall and inferiour, meaning their soveraigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his suite, he shewed how grievouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthrotes, barlots, and harlots, which do now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in daslie danger to be made a waie amongst them. To be thort when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him: My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke it deserueth little consideration and lesse care, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are do continuall uphold, it is not unknownen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that cite, which would haue bene made soner, but now it is so late: neuertheless I beseech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischefe, and keepe his court elswhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are most bound, he be encouraged thereto. Manie other words passed to and fro amongst them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was dismissed without anie penie obtained. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes coffers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt also of these two payments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, do not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the payment of his said fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certaine statute poulded in that behalfe, against such as do intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, and refuse to paie the accustomed duties belonging to the same.

They paie likewise subsidies with the temporaltie, but in such sort, that if these paie after foure shillings for land, the cleergie contribute commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himselfe well acquitted, if all ordinarie payments being discharged he may receiue thirtene pounds six shillings eight pence towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often seene of late yeeres, they are like in the next to beare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldome without the limit of a subsidie. Herein also they somethat find themselves grieved, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themselves, and so they do through consideration had of their decate and hinderance, and yet their impouerishment can not but touch also the parson or vicar, vnto whom such libertie is denied, as is daile to be seene in their accumps and tithings.

Some of them also, after the marriages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by friendship get themselves quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by some of our neighbors of the laitie, which daile indeno: to bying vs also within the compasse of their fifteen or tares for their owne ease, whereas the tare of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland soile, amounteth onelie to 379 30 pounds nine pence halfe penie, is a burden easie enough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the cleergie, whose tenths and subsidies make vp commonlie a double, if not trouble some vnto their aforesaid payments. Sometimes also we are threatened with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high enough already. But if a man should seeke out where all those church lands, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made vp, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of his expectation and right. We are also charged with armoz & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diuerse other charges imposed vpon vs are convenient, by which & other burdens our ease groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporall seruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I see not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the alle whereon euerie market

man is to ride and cast his wallet.

The other payments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their seuerall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon receiue at his synods, &c. remaine still as they old without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers do commonlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the cleergie do vniuallie paie double fees, as vnto the archbishop. Whereby then, and by those already remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no lesse commodious to the princes coffers than the state of the laitie, if it do not farre exceed the same, since their payments are certaine, continuall, and seldome abated, howsoever they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, sute, and slanderous speeches of the payers, or haue their liuings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the uttermost farding, or the whole cancelled by the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whom some do bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakkers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and housekeepers, in stead of other recompense, for their long and faithfull seruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their most aduantage.

Certes here they resemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so do they their parasites, pages, chamberleins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exclaim of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times past bishops went almost after the same maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clerke vnto a see, was sure to haue a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandise. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whilst queene Marie bare the swaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the see of Winchester was hold for a season, during which time cardinall Pole made seizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie therevnto *sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the bishop of Lincoln called White took such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to keepe that see from ruine. He wrote also to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promising so as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearely during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simoniacall practise verie grieuoullie, considering the dangerousnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which being as yet in balance readie to yeld anie waie, faunting forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the pope bishop, that he was dñen vnto another issue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further summe than frow with his ease to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuise was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obtained, but in such wise as that the pope and his nearest friends did lose but a little by it. I could if need were set downe a report of diuerse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in stead of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vngodlinesse, or to scatter more vngratulations seed in lewd ground.

alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names usuallie giuen vnto such as feed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these wozdes, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon lawe it selfe, which is daillie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it cometh to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be aduoged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permiteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and diuinities haue bene so spoiled in time of error, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies doe comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustificacion by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbath daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening prayer, we haue two lessons, whereof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after none out of some one of the epistles. After morning prayer also we haue the lesenic and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie carlesous mislikelike persons bitterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauozing of conuersion and sorcery.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if any communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene creed (of some in deuotion called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finally vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabbath daie (if occasion so requirer) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenone bestowed. In the after none likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the leastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus doe we spend the sabbath daie in god and godlie exercises, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are song by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skillfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the service of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a litle offended the

pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obtained, for scarce least the consenting therunto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed managre his resistance. Crastians duke of Bohemia, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer in libitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

Gregorius septimus Prutissas Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quod secundum Sclauonicam linguam apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuae nequaquam posse parere, ex hoc nempe se voluntibus liquet, non immerito sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prae intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem inuauit, quod quidam viri hoc quod simplex populus querit patienter tulerunt, seu in correctum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quae à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctae sunt: unde id ne fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate beati Petri inhibemus; teque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vana temeritati viribus totis resistere precipimus, &c. Datum Romae, &c.

I would set downe two or thre more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselves, belles, and times of morning and euening prayer, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, thyines, tabernacles, rodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are removed, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stozies in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient stozie of new stufte, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaye, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their rowmes. Finally, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betwene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogether needlesse, with the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a litle tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doe not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall prayers by heart, but also such as can read, doe praye together with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant putze out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and seruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and sixtene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the sun daies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: so that they the superfluous numbers of idle waikes, guildes, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathenish rioting at hyde-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feastis of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that folloio vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest bitterlie removed from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell.

The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is com-
lie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the po-
pish church : before the vniuersities bound their gra-
duats vnto a stable attire, afterward blarped also e-
uen by the blind sir Johns . For if you peruse well
my chronologie insuing, you shall find, that they
went either in diuerse colozs like platers, or in gar-
ments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with
their shoes piked, their haire crisped, their girdles
armed with siluer; their shoes, spurs, biddles, &c:
buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the most
part) of silke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced
and butted with gold: so that to meet a priest in
those daies, was to behold a peacocks that spreadeth
his taile when he danleth before the henne: which
now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitali-
tie, there was neuer any greater used in England,
sith by reason that marriage is permitted to him that
will chosse that kind of life, their meat and drinke
is more orderlie and frugallie dressed; their furniture
of household more conuenient, and better looked vnto;
and the poore offender sed generallie than heretofore:
they haue bene, when onlie a few bishops, and dou-
ble or treble beneficed men did make good chere at
Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses
for the intertainment of the rich, which did often see
and visit them. It is thought much peradventure,
that some bishops, &c: in our time doe come short
of the ancient gluttonie and prodigallie of their prede-
cessors: but to such as doe consider of the curtailing
of their linings, or excessive prices wherunto things
are growen, and how their course is limited by law,
and estate looked into on euery side, the cause of their
so doing is well inough perceived. This also offendeth
manie, that they should after their deaths leaue
their substances to their wiues and children: wheras
they consider not, that in old time such as had no le-
mans nor balliards (verie few were there God wot
of this sort) did leaue their goods and possessions to
their brethren and kinsfolks, whereby (as I can thew
by good record) manie houses of gentilitie haue grow-
en and bene erected. If in any age some one of
them did found a college, almshouse, or scholl, if
you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer
deeds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon
the right stub of pietie than before. If you saie that
their wiues be fond, after the decesse of their hus-
bands, and bestow themselves not so aduiseable as
their calling requireth, which God knoweth these
curious surueilors make small account of in truth,
further than thereby to gather matter of reprehension:
I beseech you then to looke into all states of the
laitie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses,
barons, or knights wiues, doe not fall so often of-
fend in the like as they: for Cue will be Cue though
Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault
with our thred-bare gowens, as if not our patrones
but our wiues were causes of our wo. But if it were
knowne to all, that I knowe to haue bene performed
of late in Essex, where a minister taking a benefice
(of lesse than twentie pounds in the Quenes booke
so farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his
patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of
wheat, and sixtene pelerie of barleie, which he called
halowes meat; and another left the like in farme
to his patronne for ten pounds by the yeare, which is
well worth fortie at the least, the cause of our thred-
bare gowens would easilie appeere, for such patrones
doe scrape the wolle from our clothes. Wherefore I may
well saie, that such a thred-bare minister is either an
ill man, or hath an ill patronne, or both: and when such
cooks & cobling shifters shall be removed and wæ-
ded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our pa-
trons will proue better men, and be reformed whe-

Hospitalitie.

Springe.

Thred-bare
gowens from
whence they
come.

ther they will or not, or else the single minded bishops
shall see the living bestowed vpon such as doe deserue
it. When the Pragmatike sanction took place first in
France, it was supposed that these enormities
should utterly haue ceased: but when the elections
of bishops came once into the hands of the ca-
nons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worse.
For they also within a while waxing couetous, by
their owne experience learned aforehand, raised the
markets, and sought after new gaines by the gifts of
the greatest linings in that countrie, wherein (as
Machiauell writeth) are eightene archbishopricks,
one hundred fortie and sixe bishopricks, 740 ab-
bies, elcuen vniuersities, 10007000 sheepes (if his re-
port be found.) Some are of the opinion, that if suf-
ficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from
the vniuersities, this mischief would some be reme-
died; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I
consider wherunto the gifts of fellowships in some
places are growen: the profit that ariseth at sum-
mer elections of scholars out of grammar schooles, to
the posers, schoolmasters, and preferers of them
to our vniuersities, the gifts of a great number of
almshouses builded for the maimed and impotent
souldiours, by princes and good men heretofore mo-
ued with a pittifull consideration of the poore dis-
tressed: how rewards, pensions, and annuities also
doe reigne in other cases, wherby the giner is brought
sometimes into extream miserie, & that not so much
as the reame of a common souldiour is not obtained
offentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am
brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this de-
uise, that I dare pronounce (almost for certaine) that
if Homer were now alieue, it should be said to him:

*Tuque licet venias nympha comitatus Homere,
si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.*

More I could saie, and more I would saie of these
and other things, were it not that in mine owne
iudgement I haue said inough already for the ad-
uertisement of such as be wise. Neuerthelesse, be-
fore I finish this chapter, I will adde a word or
two (so brieflie as I can) of the old estate of ca-
thedral churches, which I haue collected together
here and there among the writers, and whereby it
shall easilie be seene what they were, and how neere
the government of ours doe in these daies approach
vnto them, for that there is an irreconcilable ods
betwene them and those of the papists, I hope there
is no learned man indeed, but will acknowledge and
yeld vnto it.

We find therefore in the time of the primitive
church, that there was in euerie see or iurisdiction
one scholl at the least, wherunto such as were cate-
chises in christan religion did resort. And hereof as
we may find great testimonie for Alexandria, Anti-
och, Rome, and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left
of the like in the inferior sort, if the names of such as
taught in them be called to mind, & the histories well
read which make report of the same. These scholes
were vnder the iurisdiction of the bishops, and from
thence did they & the rest of the elders chosse out such
as were the ripest scholars, and willing to serue in
the ministerie, whome they placed also in their ca-
thedral churches, there not onelie to be further in-
structed in the knowledge of the word, but also to in-
uie them to the deliuerie of the same vnto the peo-
ple in sound maner, to minister the sacraments, to
visit the sicke and brethren imprisoned, and to per-
forme such other duties as then belonged to their
charges. The bishop himselfe and elders of the church
were also hearers and examiners of their doctrine,
and being in proceesse of time found met workmen
for the lords harvest, they were forthwith sent abrode
(after imposition of hands, and prayer generallie
made

Number of
churches in
France.

Prætie pæ-
die elections
of scholars out
of grammar
scholes, to
king.

Old estate of
cathedral
churches.

made for their good proceeding) to some place or other then destitute of his parson, and other taken from the scholl also placed in their homes. What number of such clerks belonged now and then to some one see, the chronologie following shall easilie declare: and in like sort what officers, widowes, and other persons were daily maintained in those seasons by the offerings and oblations of the faithful, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the decayes and ablations scene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which avarice and negligence will not corrupt and impair? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedrall churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of government might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be done with ease, sith the scholes are already builded in euery diocesse, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great enough to receiue so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is already and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie scene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits chose rather to imploy their studies vnto physike and the lawes, vnterlie giuing ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare lest they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this meanes also the stalles in their quaires would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indeed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiasticall function, and then other men chosen to succed them in their homes, whereas now prebends are but superfluous additaments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but tempoꝝall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leasure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuerthelesse, as I will praise for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our severall sees, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.

Of the number of bishopricks and their severall circuits.

Chap. 2.

Having already spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the sees severallie, saying so much of each of them as shall be convenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine owne experience, beginning first with the see of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primat of all this land for ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and most accounted of commonlie, because he is next to the prince, and readie at a merie call.

Canturburie.

The iurisdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected first by Augustine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue respect to his provinciall regiment, extendeth it selfe over all the

south and west parts of this Island, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and seth threes there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiaris. But if you regard the same onelie that was and is proper vnto his see, from the beginning, it reacheth but over one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantuarland, the iurisdiction of Rochester including the rest: so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprike and the least bishoprike of all are linked in together. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iurisdiction over eleaven deanries or a hundred firtie one parish churches; in the popish time in sted of the 3093 pounds, eightene shillings, halfe pence, farthing, which it now payeth vnto his maiestie, vnder the name of first frutes, there went out of this see to Rome, at euery alienation 10000 Ducates or florens, beside 5000 that the new elect did vsuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an English crowne or thereabout, as I haue bene informed.

The see of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Augustine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolric over the west-Saxons. The bishop of this see hath one archdeacon, vnder whose government in causes ecclesiasticall are three deanries, or 132 parish churches: so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 parish churches in Kent, over which the said two archdeacons haue especiall cure & charge. He was wont to paie also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see 1300 Ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smallnesse of circuit belonging to his see. Howbeit, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we resolve them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three shillings, six pence, halfe-pennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more precious made than anie bishop of that see doth take any great delight in. He was crosse-bearer in times past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. And there are and haue bene few sees in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in deed, so it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer possessed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who being but a poore mans sonne of Wille (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew first to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie, and afterward being promoted to this see, he was translated from thence to Chichester, thirde to London, next of all to Poꝝke, and finally after seauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became also cardinall, deacon, and then prest in the court of Rome, according to this verse, *Bis primas, ter pates, bis cardine functus*. Certes I note this man, because he bare some fauour to the furtherance of the gospell, and to that end he either builded or repaired the pulpit in Pauls churchyard, and toke order for the continuall maintenance of a sermon there vpon the sabaoth, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as haue no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.

The see of London was erected at the first by Lucius, who made it of an archedamine and temple of Jupiter an archbishops see, and temple vnto the liuing God, and so it continued, vntill Augustine translated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbishops of London are these; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Ilutus restitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Fastidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodianus laine by the Saxons, and Theonus Junior. But for

for their iust order of succession as yet I am not resolved, neuertheless the first bishop there was ordained by Angustine the monke, in the yeare of Christ 604, in the time of Ceolryge, after he had remoued his see further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what secret occasion, if not the speedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For iurisdiction it includeth Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was united to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this see, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indict. 598 of Inuber as I find, whilst he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his government. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie recedified by Pawrice bishop of that see, and sometimes chapelme to the bastard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stufte from Rainards castle nere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherrance of his works. Howbeit the mold of the quire was not statelie enough in the eyes of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memories should be of longer continuance. The iurisdiction of this see also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches, or thereabouts, beside the peculiaris belonging to the archbishop and chapter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop payeth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 shillings) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeaconrie, of S. Albons added thereto by king Henrie the eighth (whereby the bishop hath five eyes) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the see of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also five and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

Chichester.

The first beginning of the see of Chichester was in the Isle of Seales or Seolseie, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the bastard, and generall remouing of sees from small villages vnto the greater townes. It containeth Suffes onelie vnder his iurisdiction, wherein are sixtene deaneries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the see of Rome 333 ducats: and after Cobert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yeare as now it is) was sold by many yeares. It was erected in Seolseie also 711, by the decree of a synod holden in Suffes, which borrowed it from the iurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that haue bene in this see, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of any one that hath bene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Pertine college in Wyford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse: his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomic reserved in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Perton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancelor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the

berie foundation, as Edward Storie or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester.

The bishop of Winchester was sometime called Winchester, bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his successors, by Kingils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his folowes. In my time it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer Hamshire, Surrie, Iardeseie, Cardeseie, and the Wight, containing eight deaneries, two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Carter, deuised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or shillings, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe pence. Canturburie was said to be the higher rache, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are also which make Iucius to be the first founder of an house of prelate in Winchester, as Kingils did build the second, and Rinaldus his sonne the third, but you shall see the truth here of in the chronologie ensuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferently weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriors, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimongers, and politike counsellors in tempozall affaires to haue, I wote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed here in Winchester, since the foundation of that see, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kingils, then translated to Winchester, where it doth yet continue.

Salisbury was made the chiefe see of Shireburne Salisburie. by bishop Harman (predecessor to Winond) who brought it from Shireburne to that citie: it hath now Warkeshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire vnder his iurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that onelie Hamshire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Warkeshire, Summerfet, Deuon & Cornewall assigned vnto Shireburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishopricke (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shireburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succed him in that roome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that see than bishop Juell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Winond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called *Ordinale ecclesiasticum officij*, which old prelates were wont to vse. The bishops also of this see were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house nere vnto Reading (as it should seme) and among those that liued before the said Juell, one Roger builded the castell of the Wiles in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seven port callises. Finally this see paid vnto Rome 4000 shillings, but vnto his maiestie in my time 1367 pounds twelue shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excester hath Deuonshire and Cornewall, sometime two seuerall bishoprics, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Bastard or some after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratia 905, in a prouinciall counsell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie, among the Cebwises, where in

wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onlie bene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shireburne, thre other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into five parts; the latter thre being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales upon the river Helmouth; he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioe: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barchshires for his part, to gouerne and loke vnto according to his charge. Finally, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being united, the valuation thereof was taxed by the see of Rome at six thousand ducats or flozens, which were trauellie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie uttermost, I find that it is little worth above five hundred pounds by the yere, because hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath.

Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersestshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie flozens: but in hir maiesties booke I find it five hundred thirtie and thre pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see. Of the creation of this bishopricke, mentioned in the discourse of Gloucester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large manner, which I will also remember, onlie because it placeth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishopricke (saith he) was created 905, in a counsell holden among the Westsaxons, and Ælfgimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had bene seuen yeres without anie pastor: all cure. And therefore in this counsell it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be five ordained, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Æthelstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also suffeined the subdiuision; so that Werksane was made bishop of Cridioe or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton) Werksane of Cornwall, and Cadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barchshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iuridictions.

The bishopricke of Shireburne diuided into thre.

Worcester.

Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wiccorum* (that is, the bishopricke of the Wiccies or Wulcies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwicksheires. And before the bishopricke of Gloucester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance do deceiue me.) This see was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boscluf was the first bishop there; after whome succeeded Offort; then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kintredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monastierie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontifica-

lie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue bene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue bene archbishop of Canturburie in the reigne of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing lest he would haue loved himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, lest he should seme altogether to reject the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishopricke of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *March 31*, being thurdaye (as appereth by the register of that house) after long place holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monies did offerest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that five Italians succeeded each other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephew (for nephues might say in those daies; for father shall I call you vncke: And vnckes also; Son I must call the nephew) Julius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutis, men verie likewise, no doubt, to benefite the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a raime daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finally into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Gloucester hath Gloucestershire onlie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, because it was created by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the usurped authoritie of the pope, except in quene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yeerlie 315 pounds, seauen shillings thre pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it payeth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Buton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie god sermon that ever he made, which function peradventure he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield, whereunto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordsheire, Darbshire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwicksheire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcester. It was created in the time of Deada king of the south Mercians, which late on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Beallac first, then Tunher an Englishman succeeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the ballard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this see translated his chaire to

to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not liking of this president, removed his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilst he lived, whereby the originall diuision of the bishopricke of Lichfield into Lichfield, Chester, and Couentrie, doth easlie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Chester remaineth a bishopricke by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a last punishment, as one saith, sith that anno 765, Eadulfus bishop there under Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same untill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop mistaked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and be-
 10 stowed so much in building the same, and paing the streets, that his hungrye kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the friends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King John was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quasi mortuorum campus*, because of the
 20 great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioclesian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, five shillings two pence, halfe pence, farthing, a summe verie narrow, lie cast by that auditor which took it first in hand.

Driford bath Drifordshire onelie, a verie yong iurisdiction, created by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Jesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerfant (as the constant same
 30 went) in the blacke art, than skillfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monarchs. It is said that obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that see: but I haue heard since that he wist well enough what became of those commodities, for by one means and other he found the swætnesse of
 40 354 pounds sirtene shillings thre pence halfe pence, yea relle growng to him, which was enen enough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frer toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skillfull, as the same then went in Rome, and not unheard of in Driford.

Elie.

Elie bath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthy abbey. One Bernie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, be-
 50 longing sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finally it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testify at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sirtene shillings thre pence halfe pence farthing, whose diuine ioined to those of all the bishoprics in England, do yeld yea relle to his maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sirtene shillings thre pence halfe pence farthing: whereby also the huge
 60 sums of monie going out of this laud to the court of Rome doth in some measure appeare. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monastrie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was ver long destroyed by enemies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded

by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishopricke, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular priests, and stored with monkes provided from Abundune nere Driford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a gracious contention betwene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because
 10 the matter is so parcellie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop, & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthy the name of a cleerke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Wherevpon the pope vnderstanding that he was by his Nuncio here in En-
 20 gland, staied his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourable with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe ap-
 30 posed him, and after secret conference vtterlie disabled his election, till he had proued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiecte. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the be-
 40 nefice and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had done he wist not what in preferring so vnmet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speech the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, stand-
 50 ing by, and hearing the king his cousin to gather by the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, doth presentlie picke a quartrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obtained against him by pla and course of law ver long also afore hapned in a part of his house, for which he accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was proue vnto the
 60 fact of his men in the said fact, wherefore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie pence.

Nevertheless, being sore grieved, that he had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed by a quest at his owne chosse: he taketh his horse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie received at his hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placd, that the king took yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him
 70 with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanors toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings objections, which he still avoucheth vpon his honoz; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witness: wherevpon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was done, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a habling state betwene their seruants one of his men was slain: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe
 80 accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele of

The description of England.

of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his movables, and committed the monie unto his trustie friends. And being found gilltie by the inquest, the king seth upon his possessions, and calleth by the bishop to answer unto the trespassse. To be short, upon safe-conduct the bishop cometh to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craveth to be tried by his piers. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craveth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and privileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnelie rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small favour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to use anie such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe unto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing upon his innocencie from the first unto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so pvenale against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Upon the perusal of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeared not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dong-hilles, *unde timor & turba* (saith my note) in *Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processe, bills, and whatsoeuer instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduertured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie belement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curses, except he did the sooner state the furis of the lady, reconcile himselfe unto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all his losses sustained in these broiles. Long it was per the king would be brought to peace. Nevertheless, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betwene them; but per all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephā Birchington doth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

Exeter.

The see of Exeter called in old time *Episcopatus Domicensis, Dononia, or East Anglorum*, was erected at Felstow or Feltristow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime scholemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose perswasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donowich, & thence to Helmsbam, Anno 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie: thirde, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Ballard, to Exeter. For iurisdiction it containeth in our daies Dorsetshire and Suffolke onelic, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the east-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauenteene yeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were

once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses; but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200; and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilst the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuertheless a litle chapellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Aethle towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborough. Sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Peterborough and Rutland shires vnder hir iurisdiction, a diocesse created also by king Henric the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before quene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient sarro of the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of Hugole Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Willm the king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sighe king of Sufter, Sebbie of Esser, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfhere,
Kindburg and Kindwih sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ichamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Iarnman bishop of Mercie,
Wilfride and Eoppa priests,
Saxulf the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Willfride archbishop of Dorke, in a counsell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & five and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Wrething, Keping, Ceddenac, Swineshead, Lufgerd, Edmington, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath bene vled to the hinderance of the gospel, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

Wiltshire hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a see also latelie erected by king Henric the eight, who toke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore raised a number of ancient sees of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deducted, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure score and three pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue bene informed.)

Lincolne. Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Driford and Peterborough, yet it still retaineth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and payeth vnto the pope five thousand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninety and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who removed his see from Dorchester to Lincoln (not without licence well paid for unto the king.) And thus much of the bishoprics which lie within the shires of England, as it was left unto Loecinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Llandaffe. Llandaffe, or the church of Llaw, hath ecclesiasticall jurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknock, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seven hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it scarcelie worth one hundred fiftie and five pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishopricke, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the good time and the free planting of the gospel, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawen.

S. Davids. S. Davids bath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the see of Rome was one thousand and five hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little above the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it payeth unto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedraall church; and therefore he would gladly pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suretie he would put in to see it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth shires under hir jurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprikes in England this is now the least for reuenuess, and not worth above one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and fiftene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appereth by the tenth), which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeldeth not yereleie above thirtene pounds, three shillings, and seauen pence halfe pence, as by that count is manifest.

S. Asaphes. S. Asaphes bath Prestholme and part of Denbigh and Flint shires under hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid together doe amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuertheless it paid to Rome 470 ducats at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishopricke came unto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence, whereby it seemeth to be somewhat better than Llandaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this jurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of silver yereleie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Ap Howell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifye so much as Hugo or Hugh. Whereto of the prouince of Canturburie, for so much thereof as now lieth within the compasse of this Island. Now it resteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbishopricke of Poike, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his jurisdiction and obedience.

Poike. The see of Poike was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the coming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Cadogan King of Northumberland. This Paulinus late six

yeares yet he was diuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindesfarne grew into credit, and so remained untill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Willfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Poike: but whilst he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaiie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that see, who held it three yeares, which being expired Willfred recovered his see, and held it as he might, untill it was seuered in two, to wit, Poike, Hagulfade, or Lindesfarne, where Cata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincoln or Lindse in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Wolsfhere. Of it selfe it hath now jurisdiction ouer Poikeshire, Potinghamshire (whose shire towne I mraue the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastershire onelie not subiect to the see of Chester; and when the pope bare authority in this realme, it paid unto his see 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his see, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yeldeth 1609 pounds nine and thillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserve unto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Chester. Chester vpon Dee, otherwise called Elestchester, Chester, hath under hir jurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Cheshire, Darbithire, the most part of Lancastershire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint & Denbigh shires in Wales. It was made a bishopricke by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Julij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streit reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie under hir jurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes bene earles palantines & ruled the roll vnder the name of the bishopricke and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a see (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eightene shillings ten pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheless the sunne shine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may loke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other ditchers haue forgone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgrauc saith how that the first bishop of this see was called bishop of Lindsele (or Lincoln) & that Ceadda laie in Lichfield of the Mercians in a mansion house nere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Westsaxons bestowed all the land betwene the These & the Tine now called the bishopricke vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoener belonged to the see of Hagulfade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Bertolke withall their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatsoener this bishopricke be now, in eternall & outward apparence, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducats at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Aldan a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this see, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindesfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now Iudge you

Caerleill.

you whether the allegation of Capgrau be of anie account or not.

Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confessor to Diamond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches contained in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Whobeit herof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his sale, and so peradventure should haue done, if his plotforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speech was uttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and effrones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cair-douill. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curie Romanae, octo capitulum, episcopatus Cardensis*. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doe euidentlie declare, that some of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifully gat he by his perquisites, as elections, procurations, appeales, pꝛeuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, scales, pꝛaests, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he seeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old booke of recoꝛd, which I also haue seene, yet I find neuertheless that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poꝛe saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therefore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Island was one of the best paire of bellies or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his potsteth, besides all other commodities.

Hann.

Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Hona or Hann, sometime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Willmundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the eares of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time thereto as to them doth seeme conuenient. Whobeit if that see did know and might reape his owne commodities, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured

the daughter) I doubt not but the state of his bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later see after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and countie of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue bene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dwings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countie of Europe, sity neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by frendship, doe bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the Island, as of that of Caerleon tofore ouerthrowen by Gwelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubittus gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Davids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leicester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Winton) went to Rome with Osta king of Mercia: thirdlie of Hambsirie or Wiltun, and of Gloucester (of which you shall read in Math. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulfade, one of the members wherinto the see of Poꝛke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had giuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Wosa ouer the Weiranes that held his see at Hagulfade or Lindarne: and Catta ouer the Wernicans, who sate at Poꝛke: and thereto placing Eddedus ouer Lindseie (as is also noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Aimbirt, notwithstanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindseie before Eddedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to seeke his refuge and succour.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for woꝛse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eyes, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beleeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of cuerie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheless I will remember the same of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherewith it was builded, and was seene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

Gloucester & verie ancient bishoprike.

The

The description of England.

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The names and successions of
so manie archbishops and bishops
of London, as are extant, and to
be had, from the faith
first received.

Archbishops.

Theon.	Tadwinus <i>alias</i> Theodwi-
Eluanus.	nus, some do write him
Cadocus.	Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Ouinus.	Tidredus <i>alias</i> Theodred.
Conanus.	Hilarius.
Palladius.	Fastidius lived Anno
Stephanus.	Dom. 430.
Ilutus.	Vodinus, <i>name by the Sa-</i>
Restitutus, who li-	rons.
ned 350 of grace.	Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the
great, till he remoued his see to Canturburie, to
the intent he might the soner see, if persecutiō
should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or
send more speedie vnto Rome, without any
great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.	Cernulphus.
Erkenwaldus.	Suiduiphus.
Waldherus.	Eadstanus.
Ingaldus.	Wulfinus.
Egulphus.	Ethelwaldus.
Wigotus.	Elstanus.
Eadbricus.	Brithelmus.
Edgarus.	Dunstanus.
Kiniwalchus.	Tidricus.
Eadbaldus.	Alwijnus.
Eadbertus.	Elfwoldus.
Oswinus.	Robertus a <i>pozman</i> .
Ethelnothus.	Wilhelmus a <i>pozman</i> .
Cedbertus.	Hugo a <i>pozman</i> .

I read also of a bishop of London called Elfwald,
or Ailward, who was abbat of Conestham, and bishop
of London at one time, and buried at length in
Kamlete, notwithstanding in what order of succession he li-
ued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue
remembered, but in this order do I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.	10 Rogerus Niger.
2 Richardus Beaumis.	11 Fulco Bascet.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a	12 Henricus Wingham.
notable man for thre	Richardus Talbot electus.
things, auarice, riches,	15 Richard. Grauefend.
and learning.	16 Radulfus Ganda-
4 Robertus de Sigillo.	centis.
5 Richardus Beaumis.	17 Gilbertus Segraue.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.	18 Richardus de New-
7 Richardus.	port.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta	19 Stephanus Graue-
Maria.	fend.
9 Eustachius Falcon-	20 Richard. Bintworth.
berg.	21 Radulfus Baldoc

made the tables hang-
ing in the vestrie of
Paules.

- 22 Michael.
- 23 Simon.
- 24 Robertus.
- 25 Thomas.
- 26 Richardus.
- 27 Thomas Sauagius.
- 28 Wilhelmus.
- 29 Wilhelm. Warham.
- 30 Wilhelmus Barnes.

Having gotten and set downe thus much of the bi-
shops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the
deacons, untill I come to the time of mine old mas-
ter now living in this present yeare 1586, who is
none of the least ornaments that haue bene in
that seat.

Deanes.

- 1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the
psalmes contained in
the whole psalter, and
appointed the same da-
lie to be read amongst
the prebendaries.
- 2 Radulfus de Diceto,
whose noble historie is
yet extant in their li-
brarie.
- 3 Alardus Bucham.
- 4 Robertus Watford.
- 5 Martinus Pateshull.
- 6 Hugo de Marinis.
- 7 Radulfus Langfort.
- 8 Galfredus de Berie.
- 9 Wilhelmus Staman.
- 10 Henricus Corneli.
- 11 Walterus de Salerne.
- 12 Robertus Barton.
- 13 Petrus de Newport.
- 14 Richardus Talbot.
- 15 Galfredus de Fering.
- 16 Iohannes Chishull.
- 17 Herueus de Boreham.
- 18 Thomas Egleshorpe.
- 19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
- 20 Wilhelmus de Mont-
fort.
- 21 Radulfus de Baldoc
postea episcopus.
- 22 Alanus de Cantilup
postea cardinalis.
- Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
- Richardus de Newport e-
lectus.
- 23 Magister Vitalis.
- 24 Iohannes Euerisdō.
- 25 Wilhelmus Brewel.
- 26 Richardus Kilming-
don.
- 27 Thomas Trullocke.
- 28 Iohannes Appulbie.
- 29 Thomas Euer.
- 30 Thomas Stow.
- 31 Thomas More.
- 32 Reginaldus Kenton.
- 33 Thomas Lisleux *alias*
Leseux.
- 34 Leonardus de Bath.
- 35 Wilhelmus Saie.
- 36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
- 37 Thom. Winterburne.
- 38 Wilhelmus Wolfeie.
- 39 Robert Sherbrooke.
- 40 Iohannes Collier, found-
er of Paules schole.
- Richardus Paccus.
- Richardus Sampson.
- Iohannes Incent.
- Wilhelmus Maius resig-
nauit.
- Iohannes Fakenham *alias*
Howman resignauit.
- Henricus Colus, remo-
ued, imprisoned.
- Wilhelmus Maius, res-
ted.
- Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and
deacons of that honorable see. I call it honorable, be-
cause it hath had a succession for the most part of
learned and wise men, albeit that otherwile it be
the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie
for that it is nere vnto checke, but also the prelates
thereof are much troubled with suitors, and no lesse
subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose
monthes are alwaies to be open vnto reprehension,
and eyes ready to espie any thing that they may re-
proue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for
euerye see in England, if I had not had consideration
of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit ris-
ing by the same, vnto the commoditie of the rea-
ders: neuerthelesse I haue reserued them vnto the
publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue)
it happen to come abroad.

D. f.

OF

Of Vniuersities,

Chap. 3.

These vni-
uersities com-
mune in Eng-
land.



There haue bene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this land, and those euen in my daies not altogether forgot-
ten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Helagus the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon the Twe, nere to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Oxford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Ert-
don, Cricklade, Lachlade, Reading, and Rotherhampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not au-
thorised, but onely arose to that name by the depar-
ture of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill
dissention vnto the said towne, where also they con-
tinued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most
vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find
god testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord
which fell 1278, betwene the chancelor for the scho-
lers there on the one part, and William the archdea-
con on the other, whereof you shall see more in the
chronologie here following. In my time there are
three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at
Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in
London; of which, the first two are the most famous,
I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them
the vse of the tongues, philosophie, and the liberall scien-
ces, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, phy-
sicke, and theologie, are daily taught and had: where-
as in the later, the lawes of the realme are onely read
and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the
knowledge of the same. In the first there are not
onely diuerse goodlie houses builded square
for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with
great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the
same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through
the exceeding liberalitie of kings, quenees, bishops,
noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large li-
uings and great revenues bestowed vpon them (the
like whereof is not to be seen in any other region,
as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance
onely of such conuent numbers of poore mens
sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the
said houses are able to support.

When the vni-
uersities were
builded vn-
certeine,

When these two scholes should be first builded, who were their originall founders, as yet it is vn-
certeine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood
that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a
Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so
Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersi-
tie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same
to be so yong, sith I find by god authoritie, that John
of Benerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Ox-
ford, which was long before Alfred was either borne
or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia
was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of
the finisher of the worke, or at the leastwise of the ri-
uer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the
Barons Grantchester. An other sort affirme that the
riuer is better written Canta than Grant, &c: but
while then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or

Cantodunum, according to the same. All this is said
onely (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Canta-
ber, who comming from the Brigantes, or out of Brit-
tanie, called the said towne after his owne and the
name of the region from whence he came. Neither
hath it bene a rare thing for the Spaniards hereto-
fore to come first into Ireland, and from thence ouer
into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that
it hath bene often seene, and that out of Brittain,
they haue gotten ouer also into Scythia, and contra-
rwise: coasting still through Dorsetshire, which of
them also was called Brigantium, as by god testi-
monie appeareth.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and
by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, be-
ing inuironed in maner round about with woods on
the hills aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and
ballies beneath, whose courtes would haue no small
commoditie to that citie, and countrie about, if such
impediments were removed as greatly annoie the
same, and hinder the cartage which might be made
thither also from London. That of Cambridge is di-
stant from London about fortye and six miles north
and by east, and standeth verie well, saving that it is
somewhat nere vnto the fens, whereby the whole
somenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted.
It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of pro-
uision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wild-
foule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and
thereto the Ile of Ely, which is so nere at hand.
Onely wood is the chiefe want to such as studie there,
wherefore this kind of provision is brought thither
either from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is
also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is
supplied with gail (a bastard kind of Mirus as I take
it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led
thither by the Grant. Moreover it hath not such store
of meadow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie
expences of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the
inhabitants are forced in like sort to provide their
haie from other villages about, which minister the
same vnto them in verie great abundance.

Oxford lieth
six miles from
London.

Cambridge
six and fortye
miles from
London.

Oxford is supposed to containe in longitude eight
and eight degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in
latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minuts;
whereas that of Cambridge standeth more norther-
lie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in lon-
gitude, and therevnto fiftie and two degrees and
fiftene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation
is easie to be found.

Longitude
latitude of
both.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workman-
ship and priuat commodities, are much more state-
lie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cam-
bridge: and therevnto the streets of the towne for the
most part more large and comelie. But for vniformi-
tie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike re-
giment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer
workmanship, exceedeth that of Oxford (which other-
wise is and hath bene the greater of the two) by ma-
nie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that
are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine,
that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the
towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad
when they may match and annoie the students, by
incroching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare
by extreme sale of their wares, whereby manie of
them become rich for a time, but afterward fall a-
gaine into pouertie, because that gods euill gotten
doe seldom long indure.

Cambridge
burned not
long since.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement
is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stron-
ger, if eche were accordingly repaired: howbeit that
of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of build-
ing and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell
standeth

handeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Curgintus, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Mlie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman given to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbey of Deneie nere vnto the same, vpon a sond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will here remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, nere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had bene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & bere hir. Whymadain (saith he) the wildest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue relese. And is it so in deed quoth she? Now *De paradiex*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will do what I can to bring these soules to rest. Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he iointed with hir, and they both began that synging 1130, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a voluente, and yet to be seene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue bene called to any degree in the yeare preecedent, do there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous manner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commencement; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the friends of those which do proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those guests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repaired in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seventh, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Herton college, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steeple, which since that time haue neuer bene repaired. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbs, but now there are scarcely sixtene. There haue bene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbs, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of vittels.

The common scholes of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onlie the dignitie schole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, commeth next the moad of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seventh did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betwene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagine how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme

to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in friendlie content and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so nere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledg were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupil; or my power so great, that I might worthilie requite them both for those manifold kindneses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of foren countries we see daile to happen, where the students are enforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tauerne, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Erasimus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came nere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutions that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the revenues of the houses, and other by the pueruances and helpe of their rich friends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacitie of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were created by their founders at the first, onlie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so incroch vpon them. And so farre hath this incontinence spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & worthie of that name.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholer, is alwaies surest to spee; which will turne in the end to the overthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue bene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, do intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onlie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too euident: and their attempt would some take place, if their superiours did not prouide to brybe their inducers. In some grammar scholes likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what bryberie is vsed; for per the scholer can be preferred, such brybage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonour to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, fables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they bring the vniuersities into much slander, for standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

tingerous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which graue them not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in
private houses.

Euery one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongues and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which daily trade by the youth there abiding privatlie in their hailes, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne cometh about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aram*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their coming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Studie of the quadratics and perspectives neglected.

Moreover, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) five professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physike, the Hebrew, and the Greeke tongues. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadratics, although the latter (I meane arithmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectives are now finalie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselves do allow competent stipends to such as read the same, whereby they are sufficientlie provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are daily vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to each of them, and such of their hearers as by their skill shew in the said disputations, are thought to haue attained to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnelie to take their deserved degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their tennell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becometh their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

Bachelers of art.

Maisters of art.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned moze sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematical, they ascend higher vnto the estate of bachelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to moze perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongues, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeares) to be called maisters of art, each of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professeth but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to choose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all comers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some

other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiveth the fourth degree, that is, bachelier of diuinitie, but not before he hath bene master of art by the space of seauen yeeres, according to their statutes.

Doctor.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeeres, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Weda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, for euery teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitive church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptism, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeeres, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer loke by tarrying longer to come by anie moze. For after this time & 40 yeeres of age, the most part of students do commonlie giue over their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing little good in their owne vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, as well in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice instead of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of god and bright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarry anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

This for builded Copys Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other hono) so soone as he cometh to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the tongues and ripenesse of iudgement serue thereto: which if he do, then his first degree is bachelier of law, or physike, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, do for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finally, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea do in their owne or else where. One thing onelie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whence verie few without speciall grace do returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chieflie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of foreigne simples do oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknown than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be seen without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much also may be interred of lawyers.

There is moreover in euery house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour and manners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of governours in Cambridge. Whome in Oxford the heads of houses are now

now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In each of these also they haue one or more thesaurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a seuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancellors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, talkers, maisters of the statutes and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their fauour than my desert to yield and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be prejudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolute perswaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patron should signifie the vacation thereof to the bishop, and the bishop the ad of the patron to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assents might provide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be provided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons utterly abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happy estate.

London.

To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Inns of the court, the rest of the chancery, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholars of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore bene

brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and proue such commonlie as in processe of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honoz in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselves, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuillie in their houses, albeit that the yonger sort of them abroad in the streets are scarce able to be guided by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betwene the students and the burgeses: but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammar scholes through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholars, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quenes dominion, that haue not one Grammar schole at the least, with a sufficient living for a maister and vther appointed to the same.

Grammar scholes.

There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Winchester, Eton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Potwell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholars, daily maintained by the liberallitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue bene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke twings, and rules of versifying (the triall whereof is made by certaine aposters yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certaine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the scholes, as I haue said already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perishe from among the wise and learned.

Windsor, Winchester, Eton, Westminster.



Of the colleges in Cambridge with their founders.

Yeares of the foundations.	Colleges.	Founders.
1546	1 Trinitie college.	King Henrie 8.
1441	2 The kings college.	K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3 S. Johns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4 Christes college.	K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.
1446	5 The queenes college.	Ladie Margaret wife to king Henrie 6.
1496	6 Iesus college.	John Alcocke bishop of Elie.
1342	7 Bennet college.	The brethren of a popish guild called <i>Corporis</i>
1343	8 Pembroke hall.	Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke.
1256	9 Peter college.	Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie.
1348	10 Gundeuill and Caius college.	Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and John Caius doctor of physicke.
1354	11 Trinitie hall.	William Bateman bishop of Norwich.
1326	12 Clare hall.	Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13 Catharine hall.	Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14 Magdalen college.	Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1585	15 Emanuell college.	Sir Water Mildmay, &c.

The description of England. Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.	Colleges.	Founders.
1539	1 Christes church.	King Henrie 8.
1459	2 Magdalen college.	William Wainfler first fellow of Merton college then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bi- shop there.
1375	3 New college.	William Wickham bishop of Winchester.
1276	4 Merton college.	Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.
1437	5 All soules college.	Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.
1516	6 Corpus Christi college.	Richard Fox bishop of Winchester.
1430	7 Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.
1323	8 Auriell college.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.
1340	9 The queenes college.	R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of Eng- land, wife to Edward 3.
1263	10 Balioll college.	John Balioll king of Scotland.
1557	11 S. Johns.	Sir Thomas White knight.
1556	12 Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope knight.
1316	13 Excester college.	Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.
1513	14 Brasen nose.	William Smith bishop of Lincolne.
873	15 Vniuersitie college.	William archdeacon of Duresme.
	16 Gloucester college.	John Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene mounks.
	17 S. Marie college.	Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.
	18 Iesus college now in hand.	

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals,
which may right well be called by the names of col-
leges, if it were not that there is more libertie in
them, than is to be seen in the other. I mine opinion
the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of
Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these to
witte as I now remember.

Brodegates.	S. Marie hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New In.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Postminster hall.	

The students also that remaine in them, are cal-
led hostellers or halliers. Whereof it came of late to
passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas
late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp
in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant
sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that
he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and
therfore in despite diuerse hanged by bottles of hate
at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, ther-
as in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient
house; in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ,
in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his blood and
pale up his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of di-
uerse other hals or hostels, that haue bene there in
times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose
ruines yet appere: so that if antiquitie be to be iud-
ged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie
plentifull in Oxford to be scene, it should be an easie
matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuer-
sitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone
yet standing, that haue bene hals for students of ve-
rie antique workmanship, beside the old walls of sum-
drie other, whose plots haue bene converted into
gardens, since colleges were created.

In London also the houses of students at
the Common law are these.

Sergeants In.	Furniuals In.
Graies In.	Cliffords In.
The Temple.	Clements In.
Lincolnes In.	Lions In.
Dauids In.	Barnards In.
Staple In.	New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vni-
uersities, whose lands some greedy gripers do
gape wide for, and of late hane (as I heare) propoun-
ded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue
preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that
haue attempted this sute, other than such as either
hate learning, pietie, and wisdom; or else haue
spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than
by encroching vpon other men how to mainteine
themselves: When such a motion was made by some
vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them
in this maner; Ah sirra, I perceiue the abbete lands
haue fished you and set your teeth on edge, to aske al-
so those colleges. And whereas we had a regard on-
lie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries,
you haue a desire also to overthrow all godnesse by
subuersion of colleges. I tell you sir that I iudge
no land in England better bestowed than that which
is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their mainte-
nance our realme shall be well gouerned when we
be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares ther-
fore, follow no more this veine, but content your
selues with that you haue already, or else seeke ho-
nest meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for
I loue not learning so ill, that I will impair the re-
uenues of any one house by a penie, whereby it may
be upholden. In king Edwards daies likewise the
same sute was once againe attempted (as I haue
heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Sommer-
set among other speeches tending to that end, who al-
so made answer thereto in the kings presence by
his assignation; If sterling decaye, which of wild men
maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and
goblie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient sub-
iects, and of euill men good and goblie Christians, what
shall we loke for else but barbarisme and tumult?
For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be
hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doze, for
then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich far-
mers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed,
by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so
euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to
be at their commandement, than for the proper ow-
ner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In quene
Maries daies the weather was too warme for any
such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our
gratious

The founder
also a good
part of Eaton
college, and a
free scholer at
Wainfler
where he
was borne.

How abbetes
be gone, our
dinghyts
prie after
church and
college pos-
sessions.

Erection of
colleges in
Oxford the
overthrow of
hals.

grations quene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as moued also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for ever. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their counsell house, by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuillitie.

Of the partition of England into shires and counties.

Chap. 4.

In reading of ancient writers, as Caesar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue bene sometime in this Island, as the Notantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdiij, Ceronæ, Carnonacæ, Cereni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mente, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali, Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes, Parisi, Ordouici, alius Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritauij, Cartieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Casij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Bentilshmen, and such like. But sith the severall places where most of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne unto the learned of these daies, I do not meane to pronounce my iudgement upon such doubtful cases, least that in so doing I should but increase conjectures, and leading peradventure the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so like to be true, as those which other men haue remembered and set downe before me. Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Antonian and Augustane, is to me vtterlie unknowne.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons divided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

Shire and shire all one.

It shall suffice therefore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certaintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Island in the time of Alfred, who first divided England into shires, which before his daies, and since the coming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the same in their time, by hundreds of towne, which then were called cantreds, as old records doe witness.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Island, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my conjecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, sith we find by no good author, that aboue fiftene haue bene added by anie of his successors, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares; he divided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maister Lambert following their authoritics, hath also giuen out, saieing almost after this manner in his description of Kent: The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this Island in great numbers, sometimes waisting and spoiling with sword and fire, wherefoeuer they might

arrive, and sometime taking great booties with them to their ships, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yeeres together, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischæfe withall, they feigned themselues to be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land in one port, and sometime in another, dailing daillie great spoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouslie travelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) espiesing this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subiect, than to hold out the foren aduersarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Jethro his father in law to the like effect) divided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, signifieng to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, whereof foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Marston six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also containe ten, twelue, thirtene, firtene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or lesse, as some hundreds doe firtene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or sixtie towne, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to serue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whom he committed the gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to assemble together; other hundreds, for that they enioied iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, because there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suertie for others good abearing. He provided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suertie for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to doe more harme abroad. Whitherto maister Lambert. By whose words we may gather verie much of the state of this Island in the time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the coming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the manner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of some officers (except peradventure in Kent) so that in these daies it is hard to set downe anie great certaintie of things as they stood in Alfreds time, more than is remembered and touched at this present.

Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie.

Earle and alderman.

what a lath is

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doe saie that it is deriued of a barme, which is called in old English a lath, as they conjecture. From which speech in like sort some deriue the word Lathrow, as if it should be trulie written Lathstow, a place wherein to lath by or late on things, of what soeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutely be satisfied, although peradventure some likelihood in their iudgements may seme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire containing an appointed number of towne, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to know and understand of matters touching their portions, in to some

one.

Letters.

one appointed place of other within their limits, especially whilst the causes were such as required not the aid of assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some thires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And so, Lambert seemeth to be of the opinion, that the lathes of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word *fræ burgh*) doe yeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge ante thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe ante thing more than I read, least I should rone at random in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundredes.

Hundred of wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this division not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundredes should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behaviour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine *Decurio*, but now in most places a borholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is mozeouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partly afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of free condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might always haue such as should sweare or saie by on their certeine knowledge for his honest behauior and ciuill conuerfation if it should hapen at ante time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if ante small matter did fall out wothie to be discussed, the

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio, Borholder, Burrow.

tithing man or borholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their lathes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundredes, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the thire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselves, & make final ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisdome, and those thwoe to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in use, as yet I cannot tell, howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie known amongst them. It is supposed also that the word *Kape* cometh a *Rapiendo*, as it were of catching and snatching, because the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lordes haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncertaine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine any thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this manner.

Twelue men.

Fortie thires in England thirtene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie thires, and likewise thirtene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferently be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordered by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the thires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betwene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also doth set them downe.

uered by one law, which in times past were ordered by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the thires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betwene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also doth set them downe.

Bent.	Wiltshire.
Suffe.	Dorsetshire.
Surreie.	Summerfet.
Hampshire.	Denon.
Barkeshire.	Cornewall.

There are mozeouer on the northside of the Thames, and betwene the same and the riuer Trent, which passeth through the middelt of England (as Polydor saith) sixtē other thires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, moze into the middelt of the countrie.

Essex, sometime all forrest saue one hundred.	Huntington wher in are foure hundredes.
Middlesex.	Buckingham.
Hartfordshire.	Driford.
Suffolke.	Portsmouth.
Notfolke.	Kutland.
Cambridgeshire in which are 12 hundredes.	Leicestershire.
Bedford.	Nottinghamshire.
	Warwike.
	Lincolne.

We haue fir also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

Gloucester.	Shropshire.
Hereford.	Stafford.
Worcester.	Westerhire.

And these are the thirtie two thires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuer we haue in like sort other eight, as

Warwicke.	It is accompted as parcell of
Derby.	Shropshire (out of which it is taken) then is it
Notke.	reputed for the
Lancaster.	whole Riding.
Cumberland.	Durham.
Westmerland.	Northumberland.
Richemond, wherein are five wapentakes, & then	

So that in the portion sometime called *Apogres*, there are now fortie thires. In Wales furthermore are thirtē, whereof seven are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or	hundredes.
Cereticon.	commots.
Denmozoke, or	Glamorgan.
Denboke.	Ponmouth.
Caermardine,	Wreckenocke.
wherein are 9	Kadno.

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

Angleseie.	Denbigh.
Carnarvon.	Flint.
Merioneth.	Montgomerie.

Which being added to those of England yeld fiftie and thre thires or counties, so that under the quēnes Matheie are so manie counties, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir poluer farre exceedeth that of *Alfa*, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward contained thirtie nine thires, when the division was made, whereof I spake before.

This is mozeouer to be noted in our diuision of thires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But sith the occasiō hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better before lie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in seeking a iust cause of this their opinion.

diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betwene Amondesham, & Wellesfield, there is a peece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not above thre miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Warkeeshire also betwene Kilscombe and Wellesfield is a peece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxfordshire diuerse do participate, in so much that a peece of Gloucestershire, lieth halfe in Warwicksheire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Wymetown. Such another patch is there, of Gloucestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a peece of Gloucestershire, directlie betwene it & Gloucestershire. Gloucester hath the third peece vpon the north side of the Wintrush nere Falsbocke, as Warkeeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Gloucestershire: likewise an other in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Warkeeshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Warkeeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like lish there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this brieue admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, whereof most readers (as I perswade my selfe) are ignorant.

But to proceed with our purpose. Duer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cases which do concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a shiriffe (a word deuised of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Keue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Questor comitatus* or *Provincia*. His officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a vicount, *Quasi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome seene in England, that the earle hath anie great stoe of possessions, or oughts to do in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall resiance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealsh as wisdome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith picketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whom he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is shiriffe of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriffe also hath his vnder shiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriffe for his true execution of iustice, preservation from impeachment, and yelding of account when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewise vnder him certeine balliffes, whose office is to serue and retorne such writs and procelles as are directed vnto them from the high shiriffe: to make seisure of the goods and cattels, and arrest the bodies

of such as do offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shiriffe by order of law ought to present them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more high constables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high shiriffe vnder his seale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouision of vittels: or for other causes, or priuat puruolance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petie constables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same.

In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retainne the old Saxon name, and are called *Hotelagh*, of the word *motes* and *law*. They haue also an other called the shiriffes turne, which they hold twice in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folk mote ordeined by king Arthur to be held peacelie on the first of Maie, vntill the first of euerie moneth) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finaltie their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the countie, & twice in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iustices there resident associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice. Wholbeit in doing of these things, they reteine still the old order of the land in vse before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inquest) of these inquests there are more or lesse impaneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled doth craue and requite, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse matters to consider of. And when they haue (to their uttermost power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they retorne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge doth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. It is also verie often seene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, do after their charge receiued seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it by vnto the iudge of whom they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it cometh to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue bene welnere fastidied, or at least taken such a sicknesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this cometh by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and therefore conuileth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger sds to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this if the matter do iustlie proceed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue *Bona fide* discharged their consciences shall be sued of an attainr, & bound to appeere at the Starre chamber, with what rigo they shall be caried from place to place,

high constables.

petie constables.

Hotelagh, shiriffes turne.

Gaile deliuerie or great assises.

Inquests.

Attainr.

Lieutenants.

Shiriffes.

Vnder-shiriffes.

Balliffes.

place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and doth cause a great number of them to abstaine from the assises, & yeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they by the bailiffes to be kept at home, wherupon poxe men, not hauing in their purses therewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to perforce the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruite at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeaeres (that the number of lawiers and attorneies hath so exceedingly increased, that some shifts must needs be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or thre *Nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an attaint, whereas now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often percelled, and some of them for a cause arising of sir pence or tweluepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue bene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarrels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the pices of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeaere) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of his subjects, in the countiees where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Dier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also do direct their warrant to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offenders as they shall iudge worthy to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assise, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eightene yeaere of Edward the third, as I haue bene informed.

They meeting also & togither with the shiriffes, do hold their aforesaid sessions at foure times in the yeaere, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundrie trespasses, and the common annoyances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice doth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, where in the weights and measures are perused by the Clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these meetings also vittellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, rogues, and runnagates are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of bagabounds through their care be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension applied themselves to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euery shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare

customs and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintained and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are beaustie, and therefore by the lords of the soles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in more contempt and flauntly abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange manner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yeaerlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therefore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon Wednesday insuing after Michaelmasse date after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogether in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their apperance vpon a peece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so soone as the tenants also do misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, where here, whereby they escape their amercements: which they should not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had misse him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Knaib against their lord, in perpetual memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could besides this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said countiees and their manner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, because that of all the rest there is nothing therewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of Prolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserve vnto that excellent treatise of my friend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.

Of degrees of people in the commonwealth of England.

Chap. 5.

In England diuise our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgeses, yeomen, which are artificers, or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and chiefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, biscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquires, and last of all they that are simple called gentlemen: so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearfall.

The

Justices of
peace & quorum.

Quarter
sessions.

Petrie sessions.

Prince.

The title of prince doth peculiarly belong with us to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphin, and is named peculiarly Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, sith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings younger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word *Grace*, properly assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conuected to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.

Duke.

The title of duke cometh also of the Latine word *Dux*, ducendo, because of his valour and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperor, consull, or cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres; but now a name of hono^r, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would flourish and prosper well enough.

Marquess.

In old time he onely was called marquess, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enemies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great hono^r next vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

Earle.

The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites sacri palatii*, *comites ararij*, *comites stabuli*, *comites patrimonij*, *largitionum*, *scholarum*, *commerciorum*, and such like. But at the first they were called *Comites*, which were ioined in commission with the p^roconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem rememb^reth, where he saith, *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res publica duntaxat sinibus his prestabis, quos ante prescripti, &c.* After this I read also that euery president in his charge was called *Comes*, but our English Barons vsed the word *Hertoch* and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that *Comes* and *Graue* is all one, to wit the viscount, called either *Procomes*, or *Precomes*: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in deg^re before the baron. His reliefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronite a hundred marks, and of a knight five at the most for euery fee.

Viscount.

Baron.

The baron, whose deg^re answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a free lord as hath a lordship or baronite, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in baronies, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) termeth *Barones, quasi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or freethens in the Germane tongue as some men doe coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses

of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Peruerthelasse by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scythian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properly called *Barones*, from whence also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be seene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort doe call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countie, where that word is yet accustomed in vse. And it is also growne into a proverbe in the south, when anie man susteineth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrew tongue (as some affirme) it signifieth *Filius*, and that are the nobilitie in euery kingdome but *Filius* or *serui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* shall not be anie more to seke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a council holden at Cernecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else where rememb^red. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchequer is of course called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord tresuro^r, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ararij, & rationales*. Herunto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldom and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doe execute the same, and no longer.

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same come in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, because those lustie prelats sought after earthly estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the loss shape of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the bishop is equallie distributed betwene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease reteined within a limited compasse of vniuersitie, than other wise they would be, if eue were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be marvelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crying to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them doe agree vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whom Liue doth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one towne

1 Sam. 17.
1 Reg. 17.

tolone or citie, or to erre by such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, with our corruption is such that it will neuer yield to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a private house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdom, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath devised. But whether am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates do daily decaye, & suffer some diminution: Herein neuertheless their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared because of their authoritie and seuerer government under the prince, now are they belovéd generally for their painefull diligence daily shewed in their functions and callings, except peradventure of some hungrye wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commoditties; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall living, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their use. Finally, how it standeth with the rest of the cleargie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor great care to know. Nevertheless with what degrees of honour and worship they have bene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others doe expresse; and this also found before their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelling prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as may also appear in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decayed and worthlesse shynke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they doo thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their livings to their sés (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as inducitur for their otiose preferment to steepe and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generally in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portugal, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anye thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall tonges, that it is accounted a maine in anye one of them, not to be exactlye sene in the Greke and Hebrew, much more then to be utterly ignorant or nothing conuerfant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anye of the ministerie, especially in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vsuerued, because they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilst they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon excommunication had, few made in quene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to do anye more, and verie hardlie so much, so bold were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honour by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscount, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good service done by the first ancestor, with some advancement, which with the title of that honour is

allwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigour of the law be but equiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie both agré to none of lower degré than barons, yet by law and by these be not esteemed barons.

The baronie or degré of lords doth answer to the degree of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Roman Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maye dispense of yearelye reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maye suffice mainteine & beate out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degré & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he keepeth this degré: but if the decaye be excessive and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à senatu* so sometimes they are not admitted to the upper house in the parliament although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anye such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

This also is worthy the remembrance, that Otto the first emperor of that name, endeavouring to restore the decayed estate of Italie vnto some part of his pristine magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & Prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valualsors or captains, and valualsines.

His *Prædia* in like manner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, sackage, coinage, profits by salt-pits, milles, water-courses (and what soeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valualsors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrees of honour vnder the first three (which are properly named the kings captains) so that they are called *Maiores*, *minores*, & *minimi valualsors*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor thereof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquess, or earle, for each had captains vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valualsors*, if from anye of his three peers, then were they *Minores valualsors*: but if anye of these *Valualsors* doo substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valualsors*, and their deputies also *Valualsini*, without regard vnto which degré the valualsor doth apperteyne: but the word *Valualsor* is now growne out of vse, therefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Knights be not borne, neither is anye man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduventure & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse already shewed (as then are they called *Milites*): or out of the warres for some great service done, or for the singular vertues which do appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and rofall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches, so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelye reuenues or abundance of riches, whereby to mainteine their estates. Yet all that

De Asia, cap. 12.

No Greke, no grace.

Bene can, bene can, bene le.

Duke, marquess, earle, viscount.

Barons.

Of the second degree of gentlemen.

Valualsors.

Knights.

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that had *Equestris censura*, were not chosen: the knights, and were not be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they are chosen whom the prince will honour. Some time severally ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawyers, are called unto knighthood by the prince, and never the less refuse to take that state upon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that reboundeth unto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable unto him than otherwis to their service should be, if they did yield unto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be many in England able to dispense a knights living, which never come unto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also uncerteine: and so is it of knights likewise with us, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of custome bestowed upon them, the knights of England have not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defense and service. This nevertheless is certeine, that who so may dispense 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or marriage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be induced unto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the revenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie forty pounds by an old proposition, and so for a time be acquitted of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Chevalier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is stricken of the king or his substitutes with his sword naked upon the backe or shoulder, the prince, or: saleng, *soit chevalier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth up the king saith *Advançes bon chevalier*. This is the manner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in use among the common sort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But howsoever one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the husband: he himselfe having added to his name in common appellation this syllable *Sir*, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as the husband is called my ladie, although she happen to marrie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the common law she hath no such prerogative. If his first husband also be of better birth than his second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a privilege to lose no honour through courtlesie yielded to his first, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not seen elsewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained many notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henry of Castile the bastards out of his realme, and restored Don Pedro unto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blache prince) he then instituted this Societe of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowned persons in all vertues and honour, and adjoined them with that title to be knights of his order, giving them a garter garnished with gold and preti-

ous stones, to beare daile on the left leg with a kirtle, goblet, bloke, chapel on collar, and other solemn and magnifick apparel, both of stature and fashion exquisite: because by so doing it might be knowne as to his high and princelie an order apperteyning. Of this society also he and his successors king and queenes of England, be the sovereigns, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselves be taken as brethren and fellows in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I have here inserted two: for word, as it was delivered unto me, beginning after this manner.

I might at this present make a long narration of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this land; and therunto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke it so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inventions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facility describe the rotallie of Charles the great & his twelve peers, with their solemn rites and blazes; but unto this also I have no great devotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errors and fables inserted into the same by the lewys, religious sort, that except a man should profess to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered: herof worthie the remembrance. In like manner diverse assest subjects as princes have attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Poyners, at his kingworth) but such were the excessive charges attending therewith (as they did make allowance) and the great molestation daile infused thereupon, by the breeding of kinred quarrels among the knights, and such as rejoyced hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first bred) that in fine they gave it over, and suffered their whole inventions to perish and decaye, till Edward the third devised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appere hereafter.

The order of the garter therefore was devised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) upon this occasion. The queenes maistie then living, being departed from his presence the next waie toward his lodging, he following, some after happened to find his garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from his leg, trospied in the throng by such as attended upon him. His grooms & gentlemen also passed by it, disdainning to stoop and take up such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to take and reach it up to him. Why and like your grace (saith a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from him as he followed the queenes maistie. What soever it be (quoth the king) take it up and give it me. So when he had received the garter, he said to such as stood about him: Upon my matters do make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reverence the like. And euen upon this slender occasion he gave himselfe to the devising of this order. Certes I have not read of any thing, that having had so simple a beginning hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuisse, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe invented concerning the same, he proclaimed a rotall feast to be holden at Windsor, whither all his nobilitie rejoyced with their ladies, where he published his institution, and

Round table.

Roger Poyners.

The occasion of the devise.

Detraction: but a blue ribbon.

for which inuessed an appointed member into the
for the said fellowship; whose names inue; himselfe be-
ing the soueraigne and principall of that companie
set vnto himselfe also be placed

Edward prince of
Wales.
Henric duke of Lan-
caster.
N. earle of Warw.
N. earle of Bouche.
N. earle of Stafford.
N. earle of Sarum.
N. lord Mortimer.
Sir John Lisle.
Sir Bartholomew
Burwash.
N. sonne of Sir John
Beauchamp.
Sir N. de Mahun.
S. Hugh Courtneie.

S. Thomas Holland.
Sir John Graie.
Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.
Sir Miles Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Wale.
Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
Sir Neale Lording.
Sir John Chandos.
S. James Dawdleie.
Sir Oho Holhand.
Sir Henric Bme.
Sir Sandet Dambri-
court.
Sir Walter Pannell
alias Paganell.

Election.

What order of election, and what statutes were
precribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as
yet I can not exactly vnderstand; neither can I
learn what euery prince afterward added there vnto
before the fir and thirtieth yeare of King Henric the
eighth, and third of King Edward the sixth: wherefore
of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said
order as it is at this present, which I will set before
to his estate as I may. When any man therefore is to
be elected (vpon a come found void for his admitt-
in) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters
vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be
inducted to the same, to this effect. Right trustie
and welbeloued we grete you well, afterteining
you, that in consideration aswell of your approved
truth and fidelitie, as also of your couragious and
dallantacts of knighthood, with other your probable
merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and
behalfes: we with the companions of the noble or-
der of the Garter, assembled at the election holden
this date within our manour of N. haue elected and
chose you amongst other to be one of the compani-
ons of the said Order, as your deserts do conuincit
he require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient
diligence vpon the sight herof, you repair vnto our
presence, there to receiue such things as to the said
order appertaineth. Dated vnder our signet at our
manor of N. 14. These letters are the exemplifi-
cation of certeine, which (as it should seme) were
written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Oreneloch Aprilis
24. vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George
Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such
times as they were called vnto the aforesaid compa-
nie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the
same.

Edward duke of
Summerset vn-
cle to the king.
The marq. of North-
hampton.
Earle of Arundell L.
Chamberleine.
Earle of Shrewes-
burie.

L. Russell lord priuie
seale.
L. S. John lord great
master.
Sir John Gage.
S. Anthonie Wing-
field.
Sir William Paget.

Commission.

Being elected, preparation is made for his install-
ling at Windsoze (the place appointed alwaies for
this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner
be set vp. of two pades and a quarter in length, and
three quarters in breadth, besides the fringe. Second-
lie his sword of what soeuer length him seemeth good.
Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards
ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the
crest, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such
conuenient stuffe and bignesse, as it shall please him

to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall,
and crest with mantels and beards appoynted, to be
grauen in the mettall.

Item looking scutcheons of his armes, inuiron-
ned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of
buckram, which when he traueleth by the waie are
to be fired in the common fire where he doth lodge,
as a testimoine of his presence and states from time
to time as he doth trauele.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college
at Windsoze, the other to vse at his pleasure, with
the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the gar-
ter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and
gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcoat or gowne of red or crimosine vel-
uet, with a hood of the same, lined with white farce-
net or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of
gold Treie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished
with precious stones or other wise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle
and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in
the garter to set vpon the mantell. And this furni-
ture is to be provided against his installation.

When any knight is to be installed, he hath with

his former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when
he cometh to be installed, he is brought into the
chapter house, where incontinentlie his commission
is read before the soueraigne, or his deputie, and the
assemblie present: from hence he is lead by two
knights of the said order, accompanied with the or-
der of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell,
hauing his mantell bozne before him, either by a
knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to
whome it secondarie appertained to beare it. This

mantell shall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, af-
ter his oath taken before his stall, and not before: which
done, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where
the soueraigne, or his deputie, shall deliuer him his
collar, and so he shall haue the full possession of his ha-
bit. As for his stall, it is not giuen according vnto
the calling and countenance of the recipient, but as
the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one
called vnto this knighthood (the soueraigne, and em-
perours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted)

shall haue the same seat, which became void by the
death of his predecessor, howsoeuer it fall out: where-
by a knight onlie oftentimes doth sit before a duke,
without any murmuring or grudging at his come,
except it please the soueraigne, once in his life onelie
to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to
set each one according to his degree.

As touching the apparell of these knights, it
remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiler of
this order left it, that is to say, euery yeare one of
the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain,
blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at
his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and
hood, lined with white satine or damaske, and multi-
tude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath five pades of cloth for his gowne
and hood, and garters with letters of gold at his
pleasure, beside five timber of the finest minner.

A duke hath five pades of wollen cloth, five tim-
ber of minner, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath five pades of wollen cloth, five
timber of minner, 110 garters of silke.

An earle five pades of wollen cloth, five timber
of minner, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount five pades of wollen cloth, five tim-
ber

A timber com-
taineth foute
skins, peltes,
or selles.

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.

A baron five yards of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer gresle, 80 garters of silke.

A banneret five yards of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.

A knight five yards of wollen cloth, thre tim-
ber of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter,
hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure,
ninetene timber gresle, thre timber and a halfe of
the best, and foure & twentie yards of wollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order five yards of wollen
cloth, thre timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order five yards of wollen
cloth, thre timber of mineuer pure. And this order to
be holden generalie among the knights of this
companie, which are six and twentie in number, and
whose patrone in time of superstition was supposed
to be S. George, of whome they were also called S.
Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would
to God they might be called knights of honor, or by
some other name, for the title of saint George argu-
eth a wrong patrone.

Installation.

Furthermore at his installation he is solemnlie
sworne, the manner whereof I haue thought good also
to annex, in this manner. You being chosen to be
one of the honorable companie of the order of the
Garter, shall promise and sweare vpon the holie e-
uangelles by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and
true to the kings maiestie, and to obserue and keepe
all the points of the statutes of the said order, and e-
uerie article in them contained, the same being a-
greeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse
other goodlie proceedinges, so far as to you belongeth
& apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much
haue I thought good to note touching the premises.

Estimates.

As touching the estimates belonging to this or-
der they are manie, and therefore not to be touched
here. Howbeit if anie doubt do arise about the in-
terpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall
sovereigne of that order hath to determine and re-
solve the same. Neither are anie chosen thereunto
under the degree of a knight, and that is not a gen-
telman of blood and of sound estimation.

Gentleman of
blood.

And for the better understanding what is meant
by a gentleman of blood, he is defined to descend of
thre descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name
and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrees of
reproch.

There are also foure degrees of reproch, which
may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of
which the first is heresie lawfullie proued, the second
high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the
fourth riot and prodigall expences, where-
by he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the
port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie
thereof.

Apparell,

Whoeuer touching the wearing of their a-
foresaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the
same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George
or be in the chapter house of their order, or finally do
go about anie thing appertaining to that companie.
In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the
euen of S. George, and go with the sovereigne, or
his deputie in the same in manner of procession from
the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto
the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the afo-
said place, not putting it from them, untill supper be
ended, and the anoid done. The next daie they resort
vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence
vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell
vnto evening prayer, and likewise all the supper time;
untill the anoid be finished. In the solemnitie like-
wise of these feasts, the thirteene chanons there, and
six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the
order, whereof thos for the chanons are of purple

with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other
of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes.

If anie knight of this order be absent from this
solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and
be enforced not to be present either through bodilie
sicknesse, or his absence out of the land: he doth in
the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remain-
ing, prouide an honorable stall for the kings maie-
stie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of
stat, and cushions, and scutcheon of the garter, and
therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of
which side soeuer it be distant from the kings or the
emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as
he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at
Windsoze, there to remaine, the first evening prayer
on the euen of S. George, or thre of the clocke, and
likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine
seruice, untill the morning prayer, and the rest of the
seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time
his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace,
withouth either hood, collar or surcote. And if he be so
sicke that he do keepe his bed, he doth vse to haue
that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine
seruice aforesaid.

Sicke or ab-
sent.

At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S.
George, two of the chiefe knights (saueing the depu-
tie of the sovereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall of-
fer the kings banner of armes, then other two the
sword with the hilts forwarde, which being done the
first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme
and cress, hauing at each time two heralds of armes
going before, according to the statutes. The lord de-
putie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time
being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords,
doth deliver at his offering a peece of gold, and ha-
uing all the king of armes and heralds going before
him, he so proceedeth to the offering. When he hath
thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like so-
lemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe
with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation
being made, euerie knight according to their stals,
with an herald before him proceedeth to the offering.

Offering.

What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie
knight of the Garter, it is but in daine to declare:
wherefore I will shew generalie what is done at
the disgrading of one of these knights, if through a-
nie greivous offense he be separated from this com-
panie. Whereas other wise the signe of the order is
neuer taken from him untill death do end & finally by
his daies. Therefore when anie such thing is done, pro-
mulgation is made thereof after this maner ensuing.

Buriall.

Be it knowne vnto all men that J. J. knight of
the most noble order of the Garter, is found guilty of
the abhominable and detestable crime of high trea-
son, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against
our most high and mightie prince sovereigne of the
said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the
faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For
which causes therefore he hath deserued to be depo-
sed from this noble order, and fellowship of the Gar-
ter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor
and disloyall member remaine among the faithfull
knights of renowned stomach & bountifull prowes,
or that his armes should be mingled with those of no-
ble chivalrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince
and supreme of this most honorable order, by the ad-
uise and counsell of his colleagues, willety and com-
mandeth that his armes which he before time hath de-
serued shall be from henceforth be taken awaye and
thrustone downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from
the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from
this daie reputed anie more for a member of the
same, that all other by his example may hereafter
beware how they commit the like trespass, or fall in-
to

Disgrading.

to such notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being given, there resorteth unto the partie to be disgraced certaine officers with diuerse of his late felowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne manner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in uttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison D'or golden fleece, with the ceremonies appertaining unto the creation and inuestiture of the six and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michael and his one and thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especially by *Vincentius Lypan lib. 1. de Reg. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue, or laie the same to mortgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, bye felie to set forth those things that appertene vnto our renowned order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, *Honi soit qui maly pense*, which is so much to saie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promisseth like measure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

There is yet another order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting aboue the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bachelor knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to display his armes in a banner as barons do. Whobest these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being unfaldd.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as *Scutiger vel armiger*, and such are all those which beare armes, or armoures, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common souldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were together in the field.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and blood, or at the least their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generosi*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacy of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Emiliios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

Howeuer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not knownen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none account, much lesse of the British issue) do take their beginning in England, after this manner in our times.

Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physike and the liberall sciences, or besides his seruice in the roime of a capteine in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby

his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same do of custome pretend antiquitie and seruice, and manie gate things) and thereto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disallowed of, for that the prince doth lose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike payments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise doth beare the gladlier for the fauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the government of the common-wealth he medleth little) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraise & arme himselfe accordingly, and the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. So man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wiser buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to susteine.

Certes the making of new gentlemen byed great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie seene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinity with iustice and equitie, so it forseth not what language the malicious do giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuertheless is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in that time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but more atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, whereby it cometh to passe that they returne far worse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but coming home he could saie after this manner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no lasse or hindrance of a further purpose is sustained by holding of the same; and forgiveness onlie to be tendered when full reuenge is made. Another no lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; he is a sole that maketh account of any religion, but more sole that will lose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yeld to lose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthy to be taken for most sole of all the rest. This gate bottie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for, where such blossoms do appere. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are easilie knownen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and do downe also in England, with pages at their heeles finelie appareled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe ouer to saie anie more of these Italinates and their demeanour, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

Citizens and burgeses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and burgeses, are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens or burgeses are to serue the

*Some think that this was the answer of the queene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a manner.

Bannerets.

Esquire.

Gentlemen.

Lawiers students in vniuersities, physicians, Captains.

Citizens and burgeses.

the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemble of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemble is called the high court of parliament) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borough, for which they are appointed.

merchants.

In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen do with them, by a mutuell conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in his owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, for the matter will easilie befoze it selfe. Certes among the Laccedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restrained, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decay, by breaking of the bankrupt. I do not denie but that the naues of the land is in part maintained by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept by now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crovne, raisons or cojints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, pynes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteen pence the pound. Whereby we may see the sequele of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part byode clothes and carries of all colours, likewise cottons, fraises, rugs, tin, woll, our best beere, bales, bussian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rath, lead, fells, &c. which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portugal, France, Flanders, Danske, Polande, Scotland, and Ireland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaya, Polconia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I see not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enuie (for so I do account of it) was sufficientlie provided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble statute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in god sooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall bo-

cation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into his owne cesterne.

Peomen are those, which by our law are called *Le Yeomen*.

gales homines, free men borne English, and may depend of their owne free land in yearelie reuennue, to the summe of forty shillings sterling, or six pounds as monte goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call *barlets*, but as that phrase is used in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme *Zeoman* or *Geoman*, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staied man, such I meane as being married and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminance, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani*, & *opponuntur militibus*, and therefore Perseus calleth himselfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leastwise artificers, & with grafting, frequenting of markets, and keeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen do, but such as get both their owne and part of their masters liuing) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and do buye the lands of vnyustie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the scholes, to the vniuersities, and to the Inns of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, do make them by those means to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c. yet haue they bene found to haue done verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their hostlemen: the prince thereby helwing where his chiefe strength did consist.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are date labourers, poxe husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailors, shomakers, carpenters, bickmahers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie remoued from them, where in we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Tapobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in her wonted course doth produce and bring forth free. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogether neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are saue to make by their inquests of such manner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, shermen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times inioine the name

Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horsebacke best.

Capite cens or Proletarij.

No slaues nor bondmen in England.

The description of England.

of heddboroughes. Unto this sort also may our great swarms of idle serving men be referred, of whom there runneth a proverbe; Poyng serving men old beggers, because service is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enemies to their masters, to their friends, and to themselves: for by them oftentimes their masters are encouraged unto unlawfull exactions of their tenants, their friends brought unto poverty by their rents increased, and they themselves brought to confusion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that having not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, do search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diverse of them also co-necting to beare an high faile do insinuate themselves with yong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onely a little impaired, but also their livelihoods and revenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recover themselves. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And such necessitie importeth to have some, yet let wisdom moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of unnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie thousands. No nation cheriseth such sort of them as we do here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie give themselves to idleness, that otherwile would be brought to labour, and live in order like subiects. Of their whoredomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them do make the first & chiefe pillar of their building, consuming not onlie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such unlawfull dealings. But how farre have I wandered in this point, or how farre may I saile in such a large sea: I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this further more among other things I have to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workmanship of the latter sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eye, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buyers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than haile, and a barbarous & stantly desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their tooke to make speedie utterance of their wares: which importeth them to bungle by and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, where by the buyer is often soe defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that haile maketh wast, according to the proverbe.

Wh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need: how manie needfull commodities have we which are perfected with great cost, &c: and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be provided from other countries if we could use the means. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better cheape than we can make them here at home. I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leave these things and proceed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serveth) generallie by waie of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is governed and maintained by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head governour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the wo-

man) the queene: in whose name and by whose authority all things are administered.

2 The gentlemen, which be divided into two sorts, as the baronie or estate of lords (which containeth barons and all about that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquires, & simple gentlemen, as I have noted already. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serveth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capitaine now at Berwick; as one lord president doth gouverne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Island, which later with certaine counsellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I have touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be enough to have remembred them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the peomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I have said somewhat even now. Whereto I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Cot, goodman Cornell, goodman Pasfall, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles Jewe peoman, Edward Mountford peoman, James Cocke peoman, Herrie Butcher peoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Cato calleth them *Aratores & optimi cives rei publice*, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which said offices divers concerne the whole realme; some be more privat and peculiar to the kings house. And they have their places and degrees, prescribed by an act of parliament made An. 31 Henr. octavi, after this maner insuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasurer (who is *supremus armis Angliæ quæstor* or *Tribunus ærarius maximus*) the lord President of the councill, and the lord Privie seale, being persons of the degree of a baron or above, are in the same act appointed to sit in the parlement and in all assemblies or councill above all dukes, not being of the blood royal, Videlicet the kings brother, uncle, or nephew.

And these six, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of councill, after the lord privie seale, according to their degrees and estates: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit above all barons: or an earle, above all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place above all barons, and if he be a man of higher degree, he shall sit and be placed according thereto.

60 The rehearsall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.

The Marquisse of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Orford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewsburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derby.
The earle of Worcester.

No duke in England.
Earles.

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suffer.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwicke.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbroke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leicester.
The earle of Essex.
The earle of Lincoln.

Viscounts.

The viscount Pontague.
The viscount Windon.

Barons.

The lord of Abergeunnie.
The lord Audeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Pozeleie.
The lord Wacres of the south.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Willton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dumbleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountiole.
The lord Dgle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountiegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Haul.
The lord Windsoze.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Bozough.
The lord Wozdaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Evers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willottbie.
The lord Sheffield.
The lord Baget.
The lord Darcie of Chichester.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord Pozth.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunsdon.
The lord saint John of Blesso.
The lord of Buckhirst.
The lord Delatware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheinete.
The lord Pozrets.

Bishops in their anciencie, as they
sat in parlement, in the fift of the
Queenes maiesties reigne
that now is.

Cleargie.

The archbishop of Canturburie.
The archbishop of Pozke.
London.
Ducham.
Winchester.

The rest had their places in senzoritie of con-
secration.

Chichester. Lundasse. Hereford. Elye. Worcester. Bangor. Lincolne. Salisbury. S. Davids. Rochester.	Bath and Welles. Countrie and Litchfield. Excester. Rozwich. Peterborough. Carleill. Chester. S. Asaph. Gloucester.
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10

And this for their placing in the parlement house.
Wherbeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie sitteth
in his prouinciall assemblie, he hath on his right hand
the archbishop of Pozke, and next vnto him the bi-
shop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of
London: but if it fall out that the archbishop of
Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his se,
then the archbishop of Pozke is to take his place, who
admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand,
and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sit-
ting alwaies as afore, that is to saie, as they are el-
ders by consecration, which I thought good also to
note out of an ancient president.

Of the food and diet of
the English.

Chap. 6.

30

The situation of our region, li-
eng nare vnto the north, doth
cause the heate of our so-
maches to be of somewhat
greater force: therefore our
bodies do craue a little more
ample nourishment, than the
inhabitants of the hotter re-
gions are accustomed withall, whose digestiue force
is not altogether so vehement, because their internall
heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the
colneste of the aire, that from time to time (special-
lie in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

40

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are of
tentimes more plentifulle garnished than those of o-
ther nations, and this trade hath continued with vs
euen since the verie beginning. For before the
Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our
countrie, our predecessors fed largelie vpon flesh and
milke, whereof there was great abundance in this
Ile, because they applied their chiefe studies vnto pa-
sture and feeding. After this maner also did our
Welsh Britons order themselves in their diet so
long as they liued of themselves, but after they be-
came to be vnted and made equall with the English
they framed their appetites to line after our maner,
so that at this daie there is verie little difference be-
twene vs in our diets.

50

In Scotland likewise they haue giuen themselves
(of late yeares to speake of) vnto verie ample and
large diet, wherein as for some respect nature doth
make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far ex-
ceed vs in ouer much and disemperate gozman-
dize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them
do oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to
spend their times in large fabling and bellie chere.
Against this pampering of their carcasses doth He-
ctor Boetius in his description of the countrie verie
sharpelie inueigh in the first chapter of that treatise.
Hentie Wardlaw also bishop of S. Andrews, no-
ting their vehement alteration from competent fru-
galitie into excessive gluttonie, to be brought out of
England with James the first (who had bene long
time prisoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,
and

60

The description of England.

and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorable preferred there) both vehementlie exclaime against the same in open parlement holden at Berth 1 4 3 3, before the thre estates, and so byingeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restraint of superfluous diet, amongst other things baked meats (which neuer before this mans daies scene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiual daies, but alas it was soon forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselves vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often fast but once or twise at the most in two or thre daies (especially if they held themselves in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marishes, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they used to eat a certaine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger above common expectation. In woods moreover they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if these things serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then used they to creepe into the water or said moorish plots vp vnto the thins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and bene ready to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustenance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either gowle, hare, or henne, because of a certaine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those thre creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Island, it was not long per open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in proceesse of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thenceforth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restraint of anie meat, either for religious sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especially forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that abundance of fish which the sea yeldeth, more generallie received. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preservation of the nautie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of seafaring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decay, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so dære as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe states throughout the Island, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthe, do feed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame fowles as are either bred in our Island or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose coikes are for the most part muscalle headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, for there is no daie in manner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie baste,

mutton, beale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow beere, besides great varietie of fish and wild fowle, and thereto sundrie other delicacies wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portugale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to do, but each one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserved vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is dæuoted vp still by the waiters as order requirerth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeld vnto a conspiracy with a great deale of meat for the speeie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to fustaine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not scene in their guests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue daile much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto retaine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisite & expedient for them to be somewhat plentiful in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their daile prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in silver vessels if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and upwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserved, and after ward sent downe to their serving men and waiters, who feed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuerfion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie ready at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guesstes are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certaine ordinarie allowance daile appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to wait vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guesstes do feed as are not of calling to associate the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or thre score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore sutors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, fugs, bols of silver in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garnished with silver) or at the leastwise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie bygeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restorers it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnestus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egeus and Clitemnestra) much sole tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continually stand at the elbow or nere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie bygeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or of ten troubling of the seruitors with filling of their bols. Fewer thelesse in the noble mens hals, this order is not used, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or equire of great

great revenues. It is a world to see in these our
daies, wherein gold and silver most aboundeth, how
that our gentilitie as loving those mettals (because
of the plentie) do now generallie chuse rather the Cle-
nice glasses both for our wine and beere, than anie of
those mettals or stone wherein before time we have
bene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of
man generallie that it most coueteth things difficult
to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe,
that manie become rich onelie with their new trade
vnto Sparana (a towne nere to Venice situat on the
Adriatique sea) from whence the verie best are bailie
to be had, and such as for beantie do well nere match
the chissell of the ancient Murrhina vasa, wherof
now no man hath knowledge. And as this is seene
in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communalitie the
like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the
gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more in-
creased to the benefit of the merchant. The poeple al-
so will haue glasse if they may, but sith the Venetian
is somewhat too deere for them, they content them-
selues with such as are made at home of ferne and
burned stone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to
wards the last, so that our great expenses in
glasses (beside that they breed much strife toward
such as haue the charge of them) are worst of all be-
stowed in mine opinion, because their peces do
turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were
once found, and one part hereof mixed with fortie of
molten glasse, it would induce such a metalllicall
toughnesse thereto, that a fall should nothing hurt
it in such manner, yet it might peradventure bunnch or
batter it, neuertheless that inconuenience were
quickelie to be redressed by the hammer. But whether
am I slipped?

Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about
one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with
four, five, or six dishes, when they haue but small ce-
leste, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the
most, when they haue no strangers to accompanie
them at their tables. And yet their seruants haue
their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at
their masters boydes, & not appointed to be brought
thither the second time, which neuertheless is often
seene generallie in venison, lambe, or some especiall
dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to
feed when it is cold, or peradventure for sundrie cau-
ses incident to the feeder is better so, than if it were
warne or hot. To be short, at such time as the mer-
chants do make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts,
it is a world to see what great provision is made of
all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of
the countie, wherein beside that they are often com-
parable berein to the nobilitie of the land, they will
seldome regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie
hilleth, but reied the same as not worthy to come
in place. In such cases also gesticions of all colours
mixed with a varietie in the representation of sun-
drie flowers, herbs, trees, formes of beastes, fish, foules
and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine brought with
no small curiositie, farts of diuerse betwes and sun-
drie denominations, conserues of old fruits forren
and home-bred, suckets, cobinacs, marmilats,
marchpaine, fingerbread, gingerbread, florentines,
wild foule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish
confections, altogether seasoned with sugar (which
Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuise ne: com-
mon no: greatlie used in old time at the table, but
onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, In-
dia & Sicilia) do generallie beare the swaie, besides
infinite deuises of our owne not possible for me to re-
member. Of the potato and such vnerous roots as
are brought out of Spaine, Portugale, and the In-
dies to furnish by our bankets, I speake not, wherein

our Spures of no lesse force, and to be had about Cro-
wie Kaenstowth, do now begin to haue place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is ob-
teined with most difficultie and cost, is commonlie
taken for the most delicat, and thereupon each guest
will loneli desire to feed. And as all estates do erre
herin, I meane for strangenesse and number of cost-
lie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like exercise in
wine, in so much as there is no kind to be had (neither
anie where more store of all sorts than in England,
although we haue none growing with vs but peare-
lie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and up-
wards, notwithstanding the bailie restrains of
the same brought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great mee-
tings there is not some store to be had. Neither do I
meane this of small wines onlie, as Claret, White,
Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts,
according to the number of regions from whence
they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian,
Grecian, Spanishe, Canarian, &c: wherof Meruage,
Catepument, Kalspis, Muscadell, Komnie, Ballard
Tire, Meie, Caplake, Clarete & Palmsele are not
least of all accompted of, because of their strength
and balure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stron-
ger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means wher-
of in old time, the best was called Theologicum, be-
cause it was had from the cleargie and religious
men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would
often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure
that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the
worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or byued
by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue
thought that his soule should haue gone straight-
waie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with
other than the best. Furthermore when these haue
had their course which nature yieldeth, sundrie sorts
of artificiall stuffe, as pporas & wo:me wood wine
must in like manner succed in their turnes, beside
scale ale and strong beere, which neuertheless beare
the greatest hunt in drinke, and are of so manie
sorts and ages as it pleaseth the byuer to make
them.

The beere that is used at noble mens tables in
their fixed and standing houses, is commonlie of a
yeare old, or peradventure of two yeares tunning
or more, but this is not generall. It is also byued in
sparch and therefore called sparch beere, but for the
household it is vsuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech
one coueting to haue the same scale as he may, so
that it be not so late, and his head new as is possible
so that it be not hot.

Beere.

The artificer and husbandman make greatest ac-
compt of such meat as they may loneli come by, and
haue it quickliest readie, except it be in London when
the companies of euery trade do meet on their quar-
ter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to
the nobilitie. Their food also consisteth principallie in
beefe and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to
saie, mutton, deale, lambe, porke, &c: wherof he ser-
ueth great store in the markets adioining, beside
soupe, byatone, bacon, fruit, ples of fruit, foules of sun-
drie sorts, cheese, butter, eggs, &c: as the other wanteth
it not at home, by his owne provision, which is at the
best hand, and commonlie least charge. In feasting
also this latter sort, I meane the husbandmen doe ex-
ceed after their manner: especiallie at bydales, puri-
fications of women, and such od meetings, where it
is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent,
ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie with him as
his wife & he do consult vpon, but alwaies with this
consideration, that the lesser friend shall haue the bet-
ter provision. This also is commonlie seene at these
bankets, that the good man of the house is not char-
ged with any thing fauing byead, drink, sauce, house-
come

Artificer.

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes do deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them do suffer their salues to go off before their clauwes, and diuerse of them by making god there do hinder themselves and other men: yet the wisest for can handle the matter well enough in these sun-kettings, and therfore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie friendly at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or french craft and subtiltie, that it would do a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as fauoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselves not to be merie & welcome, if their folish betnes in this behalfe be neuer so little restrained. This is moreover to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumbe vpon a peece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed daies) they thinke their chere so great, and themselves to haue fared so well, as the lord Mayor of London, with whome when their belies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined
so well as my
lord maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wisest sort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no commendation, for it belongeth to guests neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewise of the moderate eating and drinke that is daile sene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surfetting and drunkennesse (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these thre may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugal artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od peoman) with whome he is thought to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surfetting and drunkennesse, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errors of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarce enough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a graue vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is done and past. If the friends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first date of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rōme, and in reuward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an *you* are hartelie welcome is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieing in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinement of townermens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis est, secundus,

Tertius est vanus, sed fctet quatrduannu.

The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselves sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilst their household and poore neighbours in some shires are enforced to content themselves with rie, or barleie, pea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogether and some cornes among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselves of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is off so well to be sene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my trial. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath bene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iust cause (except it be that landlords do get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe by the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driven to content himselfe with horse corne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and linctels: and therfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some caterpillers there are that can saie so much already.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, daile brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budens also speaketh, in his first booke *De assie*, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such propozition, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortye cast of manchet, of which euerie lose weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue bene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaten bread, so named because the colour thereof resembleth the grate or yellowish wheate, being cleane and well dyled, and out of this is the courtest of the bran (usually called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The rabeled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it resembleneth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheate: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne doth beare) and by a statute provided by king John in that behalfe. The rabeled cheate therfore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lose weighing eighteene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or thre and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eye, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the stoure are anie whit diminished, this Celsus called *Autopirus panis*, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no stoure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

I sennie at
hand is first
sene in the
horse men-
ger whenthe
poore do fall
to horse corne.

Primarius pa-
nis.

Cheat bread
Rabeled
bread.

The size of
bread is beke
it kept or not
at all looked
vnto in the
countrie
townes and
markets.

Browne
bread.

Panis Ciba-
rius.

Summer
wheat and
winter bar-
ley berie rare
in England.

Dynke.

Malt.

Making of
malt.

upon. Hereinto likeholfe, because it is drie and brye-
ble in the working (for it will hardlie be made by
handsomelie into loaves) some adde a portion of rie
meale in our time, whereby the rough dynesse or drie
roughnes therof is somewhat qualified, & then it is na-
med miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled coine,
albeit that diuerse do sow or mingle wheat & rie of
set purpose at the mill, or befoze it come thers, and sell
the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie
bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant
and gelson. As for the difference that is betwene the
summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know
it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer
wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find
of both sorts, speciallie in the north and about Ben-
dall, where they call it sparch wheat, and also of sum-
mer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not
pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Our dynke, whose force and continuance is par-
tie touched already, is made of barleie, water, and
hops, sodden and mingled together, by the industrie
of our brewers, in a certeine exact proportion. But be-
foze our barleie do come vnto their hands, it suffereth
great alteration, and is converted into malt, the
making whereof, I will here set downe in such
order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am
scarce a good malster) chiselle for that forreine wor-
ters haue attempted to describe the same, and the
making of our bere, wherein they haue shot so farre
wilde, as the quantitie of ground was betwene
themselues & their marke. In the meane time beare
with me, gentle reader (I beseech thee) that lead thee
from the description of the plentiful diet of our coun-
trie, vnto the sond report of a seruile trade, or ra-
ther from a table delicatellie furnished, into a mustie
malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherefoze I pte
thee be contented.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some
great towne, but in gentlemens and yeomens
houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their
owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought
most meet for that commoditie: holobeth the malt
that is made when the willow doth bud, is common-
lie worst of all, neuertheless each one inuenieth
to make it of the best barleie, which is steeped in a ce-
serne, in greater or lesse quantitie, by the space of
three daies and three nights, untill it be thoroughlie so-
ked. This being done, the water is drained from it
by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward
they take it out, and laie it vpon the cleane flore
on a round heape, it resteth so untill it be readie to
shote at the root end, which maltsters call Com-
ming. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this
maner, they sale it is come, and then forthwith they
spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner
and thinner vpon the said flore (as it commeth) and
there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fve
times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the
least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to
take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that
bringeth forth the blade, and by which oversight or
hurt of the sturke it selfe the malt would be spoiled,
and turne small commoditie to the brewer. When it
hath gone or bene turned so long vpon the flore,
they carie it to a hill covered with haire cloth, where
they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it
there berie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane
while they turne it often, that it may be brisomelie
dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be done
with soft fire) the sweeter and better the malt is, and
the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried
downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will
bied a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which grow

eth in the flour of the coine, and in procelle of time
will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of
the graine but euen the berie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour,
for if it take fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto will
write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a
bitwell in sunder in the middelt, then you may assure
your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is
dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone,
in other with wood and strawe together, but of all
the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the
wood dried malt when it is brewed, beside that the
dynke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie
the head of him that is not used thereto, because of
the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferently do
barke, cleave, and drie their wood in an oven, thereby
to remoue all moisture that shuld procure the same,
and this malt is in the second place, & with the same
likewise, that which is made with dried strye, by come,
&c: whereas if they also be occupied Greene, they are
in maner so prejudiciall to the coine, as is the moist
wood. And thus much of our malts, in bryng where
of some grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in
sething well the liquoz that shall be put vnto it,
they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of
headcoine, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as
wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to do with
this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, where with
I am not acquainted. Neuertheless, sith I haue ta-
ken occasion to speake of bryng, I will exemplifie
in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, because it
is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in
a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants,
who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft
informed me.

Having therefore ground eight bushels of good
malt vpon our querne, where the toll is samed, she
addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so
much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mix-
eth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie dis-
cerne the one from the other, otherwise these later
would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become
unprofitable. The first liquoz which is full eightie gal-
lons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she
maketh boiling hot, and then poureth it forth into
the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) untill
hir second liquoz be almost readie to boile. This done
she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left with-
out liquoz, or at the leastwise the greatest part of the
moisture, which she perceiueth by the staie and soft
issue thereof, and by this time hir second liquoz in the
furnace is ready to seth, which is put also to the malt
as the first wort also againe into the furnace
theretvnto she addeth two pounds of the best En-
glish hops, and so letteth them seth together by
the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and
an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent
colour, and continuance without impeachment, or a-
nie superfluous tartnesse. But befoze she putteth hir
first wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the
hops, she taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine
gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth
no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and
this she referreth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall
appeare hereafter, calling it Blackwort or Char-
wort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of
the dynke, whereby it yeldeth not vnto ambow or
fine gold in hew vnto the rie. By this time also hir
second wort is let runne, and the first being taken
out of the furnace and placed to coole, she relurneth
the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is striken
ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it be-
ginneeth to boile and maketh the second time, whilest
the third liquoz is heat (for there are three liquozs) and
this

Bryng of
bere.

Charwort.

The description of England.

this last put into the furnace, when the second is made againe. When she hath made also the last liquor (and set the second to cole by the first) she letteth it runne, and then letteth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peradventure two pounds as the sayth cause by the goodnesse or balenelle of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and referreth it vnto mixture with the rest when time doth serue therefore. Finally when she letteth hir drinke together, she addeth to hir brackewort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quartene of an ounce of balberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir wort with an handfull of wheat slowre, she proceedeth in such vsuall order as common bying requireth. Some men in stead of arras & bales adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good bere, such (I meane) as is meet for poze men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is forty pounds a yeare *Computatis computandis* able to perforce) may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I bue, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my bestell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of bere or moze, notwithstanding the losse in saything, which some being loth to forgo do not obserue the time, and therefore speed thereafter in their successe, and woorthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it feedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being ertingulshed the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our buyers obserue verie diligently the nature of the water, which they dailie occupy; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, with the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalie or cledgie soles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and moorish is the worst, and the clearest sping water next vnto it. In this busines therefore the skillfull workeman doth redeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickness drinke) is neuer scene nor heard of. Howbeit as the bere well sodden in the bying, and scale, is cleare and well coloured as muscabell or maluesete, or rather yellowe as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is moze thicke, fullsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I knowe some aleknights so much addicted thereto, that they will not cease from mozo to untill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselves, and either fall quite vnder the board, or else not daring to stirre from their stoles, sit still pinching with their narrow eyes as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such sights also haue the alewives for the utterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so nere the bottome of the

pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so doth he carrie off a dric drunken noile to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Shiller, Kent, Worcester, and other shires, where these sorts of fruits do abound, hapheit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Crakes do of their Ambrosia or Medar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselves did delite in. There is a kind of costly swath made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with hontcombs and water, which the homelie countrie wines, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be lose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwile it differeth so much fro the true metheglin, as chalie from chere. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honte is wyng out, and one of the best things that I knowe belonging thereto is, that they spend but little labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Whereto of the diet of my countymen, some what moze at large peradventure than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole proceesse of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my friend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath bene much moze time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reate supers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a tole brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome thereof Athenius also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twofe at the most lib. 2. *De rat. vi. in sch. ac.*) Now these odder pasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Romans mistaking the gozmandise of Canutus, ordeined after their seruall, that no table should be covered above once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either wearing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good coine of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often feeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he covered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes five or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall banquets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting, which sonnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excellence and misgouernment of our bodies dwappere, although

Cider.
Pirrie.

Metheglin.

Mead.

Hydromel.

Lesse time
spent in eating
than
heretofore.Canutus &
glutton, but
the Romans
at the last
exceeded him in
that vice.

Long sitting
reprehended.

although it be a great expence of time, and worthe
of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and
merchants, especiallie at great meetings do sit
commonlie till two or three of the clocke at after-
none, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise
from the table to go to evening prayer, and returne
from thence to come time enough to supper. For my
part I am persuaded that the purpose of the Ro-
mans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman
order of Danish custome in feeding once in the daie,
and toward the evening, as I haue red and noted.
And indeed the Romans had such a custome, and like-
wise the Grecians, as may appere by the words of
Socrates, who said vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente sole
confluum, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum*, although a
little something was allowed in the morning to
young chyldren which we now call a breakfast. Plato
called the Siciliens monstres, for that they vsed to
eat twise in the daie. Among the Persians onelie
the king dined when the sunne was at the highest,
and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it
is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when
their stomachs craued it, as the Canariens and In-
dians do in my time (who if appetite serue refuse not
to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and like-
wise the ancient Calpians. Yet Arhianus noteth it
as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16. that the Epythienians had
taken vp an ill custome to feed twise in a daie. How-
beit at the last they fell generallie to allow of sup-
pers toward the setting of the sunne in all places,
because they would haue their whole familie to go to
meat togither, and wherunto they would appoint
their guests to come at a certeine length of the shad-
ow, to be perceived in their dials. And this is more
to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plu-
tarch saith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note
of reprehension as if he had bene gluttonous and
giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympol. 6. Their slaues in
like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for
then were they sure some after to go to meat. In the
scripture we read of manie supers & few dinners,
onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in
Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sprung vp,
when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, oc-
casioned by solenes and great abundance of riches.
It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he saunteth Ma-
rius for that he gaue himselfe to drinke before the
ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to
be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began com-
monlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Af-
terwards when gurmandise increased yet more a-
mongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed
vnto all nations vnder their subiection, it came to
passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke
and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and
drinke in, as the verse saith:

*Sex hora tantum rebus tribuantur agendis,
Prætere post illas, litteræ et iha manet.*

Wherunto Maximus Planudes (except my me-
more faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner,
saing that from morning vnto none (which is six of
the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth
trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being
done, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his
bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Greke
letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horolo-
gies were marked, as ours be with their numerall
letters) whereby the time is described: for those which
point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with E H O I, and be-
ing ioined yeld EHOI, which in English signifieth so
much as lue, as if they should meane, eat that thou
maist lue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and
with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort,
these verses following do more euidentlie declare:

*Prima saluantes, atque altera contuset horis,
Exercet raucos tertia cauidicos.
In quintam variis extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies lassus, septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidus et aua palestris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Horatibellorum decima est Eupheme meorum,
Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonum aethereo laxatur Nectare Caesar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parcamanu.
Tunc admitte iocos: gressu times ire licenti,
Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia Iouem.*

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Ger-
mans was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward
night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good
custome. I might here remember also their maner
in pulling off their shoes when they sat downe to
meat, whereof Martial saith:

*Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarmus liber, &c.*

And Tullie also remembreth where he saith *Seruum a
pedibus ad te misi*, which office grew of the said cu-
stome, as *Seruum ad limina* did of keeping the doze,
though in most houses both these were commonlie
one mans office, also *Ad pocula* of attending on the
cup. But because the good writers of our time haue
observed these phrases and such like with their causes
and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall trea-
sures, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon
them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students,
do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before none,
and to supper at five, or betwene five and six at after-
none. The merchants dine and sup seldome before
twelue at none, and six at night especiallie in Lon-
don. The husbandmen dine also at high none as
they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the
tearme in our vniuersities the scholars dine at ten.
As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup
when they may, so that to talke of their order of re-
past, it were but a needlesse matter. I might here
take occasion also to set downe the varietie vsed by
antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherein
almost euery nation had a seuerall fashon, some be-
ginning of custome (as we do in summer time) with
salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some
making their entrie with eggs, and shutting vp their
tables with mulberies, as we do with fruit and con-
fects of all sorts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began
with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with
the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as
we do yet also) with butter and eggs vpon fish daies.
But whereas we commonlie begin with the most
grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot
thinking much to leaue the best for his meall ser-
uants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is
sure thereby to leaue the worst. We vse also our wines
by degrees, so that the hottest commeth last to the ta-
ble, but to stand vpon such toles would spend much
time, and turne to small profit, wherefore I will deale
with other things more necessarie for this turne.

Of their apparell and attire,

Chap. 7.



An Englishman, indetouring
sometime to witte of our at-
tire, made sundrie platformes
for his purpose, supposing by
some of them to find out one
best fast ground whereon to
build the summe of his dis-
course. But in the end (like
an orator long without exercise) when he saw what

The description of England.

Andrew
Ward.Strange
cuts.Much cost
upon the bo-
die, and little
upon the soule

Beards.

a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie dyne the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, with he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while together, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this wytter (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and ungracious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, with the phantasticall folie of our nation, even from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the sickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expence of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certainte of our attyre: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanishe guise, to morrow the French toiles are most fine and delectable, yet long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish manner is generallie best liked of, otherwile the Spanish gowns, the Barbarian sleeves, the mandilion woome to Collie Weston ward, and the short French byches make such a comelie besture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuers, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the exccesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the bauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the sickenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attyre. Whow much cost is bestowed now adaies upon our bodies and how little upon our soules: how manie suites of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other: how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left therein to feed the later: how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies: how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it: what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language both the poore workman beare awaie: and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seamers of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off a bone or vnder the eares round as by a wooden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turkes, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (a fine fashion) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therefore if a man haue a leane and straight face, a marquesse Ottos cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrover; if he be well bearded, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bobbed hen, and so grim as a gosse, if Cornelius of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men doe weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage,

do weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell, for which I saie most nations do not vniustlie deride vs, as also for that we do seeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost upon our arses, & much more than upon all the rest of our bodies, as women do likewise upon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheless are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoe) and such staring attyre as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewines onelie, is now become an habit for chaste and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant coppels on the breast full of iags & cuts, and sleeves of sundrie colours: their gallowsgons to beare out the tye bums & make their attyre to sit plump round (as they terme it) about them: their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdsete, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended: I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almighty God hath giuen vnto vs to relene our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogether the grace of God into wantonnesse, &c.)

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secunda

not otherwile bestowed than in all exccesse, as if we will not otherwile how to consume and wast them, I praise God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose orrores were pride, exccesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits abundantlie bestowed upon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by unreasonable exactions made upon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, therewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merrier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carlie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some pottle furniture of velvet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnte, or blacke velvet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gallowish colours as are woone in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselves the gaitest men, when they haue most diuersities of iaggcs and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attyre, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great peece of the ancient granitie appertaining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the ponger sort of their wines both in attyre and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and sene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of helmes deuised for the nonce, therewith to please phantasticall heads, as golesturd greene, pease porrige tawnte, popingate blue, lustie gallant, the dwell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking

Exccesse in
women.

Ezech. 16.

Attire of
merchants.

thinking it sufficient to have said thus much of apparel generallie, when nothing can particularlie be spoken of anie countenance thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and
authoritie of the same.

Chap. 8.

In speaking of parlement lawe, I have in the chapter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not need to remember ought here that is there touched: I will onelie speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemblee, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne unto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time bene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houses or parts, the higher or upper house consisting of the nobilitie, including all euen unto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whom also the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse places, and these haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the three estates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laetie, sholdome anie thing is said to be concluded upon, and brought unto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoever the people of Rome did in their Centuriatis or Tribunitijs comitijs, the same is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his advocate or attorneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men without contradiotion or grudge. By the space of foure daies, before this assemblee be begun, the prince sendeth his writs unto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may chose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefites as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the upper house, as well ecclesiasticall as tempozall, do attend vpon the prince, who rieth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after prayers made, and causes shewed, therefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The house it selfe is curiously furnished with tapistrie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall

lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the tempozall lords the left. I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middell and a prettye distance from the prince, lie certeine sakes stuffed with wolle or haire, whereon the iudges of the realme, the master of the rolls, and secretaries of estate do sit. Whobest these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of

such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to do: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the counsell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallye, the consent of this house is giuen by each man seuerallie, first for himselfe being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & priores directed vnto him, saing onlie, Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue alreadye made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer by name do chose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceived of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh five requests vnto that honorable assemblee, first that the house may (as in times past) enjoy his former liberties and priuileges: secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house do giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblee, that the same may indist such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblee shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue free access and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolved in the same: fifthlye and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betwene the houses, he forget or mislike anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth answer as apperteineth, and this is done on the first daie, or peradventure the second, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the first.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the Clerk of the upper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that cometh in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that done they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part rased or reformed, as cause mooueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the upper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part do conclude withall, vpon the utterance of these words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and so when they see time they send such billes appoyned to the commons by some of them that sit on the wolle sakes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, do vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as Sir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

D. y.

The parlement house diuiderh the estate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of Commons.

Of the upper house.

Of the lower house.

Petitions of the speaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

The description of England.

and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borrowage as he hath vied toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauele. After speaker, my lords of the upper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parliament such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they praise you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the daye being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon any other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c. which are solemnly read, & their contents by assise shewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the new
the house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be seene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bills as he first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bills be thrise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, better order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vpon bare headed. If manie stand vpon at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without reherfall of his name whose speeches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not repleie on that daie, so one man can not speake twise to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, scditionous, vnreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblee, yet if any happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblee and custome in that behalfe. In the afternone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker any voice in that house, where with to moue or dissuade the furtherance or state of any bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof by assise to declare the contents. If any bill passe, which cometh vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, Les commons ont assentus: so if the lords agree vpon any bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, Les seignours ont assentus. If it be not agreed on after thise reading, there is conference required and had betwene the upper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, wherevpon if no finall agreement by the more part can be obtained, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the saying is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxy but in his owne person, and after the bill twise read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, wherevnto if they agree he holdeth vpon the bill & saith, So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie Aye: her vpon so manie as allow of the thing crie No, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to state or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part doe carrie a-

way the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or faileth as the voices vield thereto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last daie therefore of the parlement or session, the prince cometh in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancelor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c. the lord chancelor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunity & occasion shall serue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euery act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, Le roy vult. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them Le roy aduiera. And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfeiture of life, member or lands of any Englishman, where no law is ordained for the same before hand, is available or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: wherunto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and doth intue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, sending knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.	
K Knights.	2
The borough of Bedford.	2
Buckingham.	
Knights.	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wickscombe.	2
50 The borough of Aylesburie.	2
Barckeshire.	
Knights.	2
The borough of New Windsor.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2
Cornewall.	
Knights.	2
60 The borough of Lannceston alias Newport.	2
The borough of Lescard.	2
The borough of Lostwithsell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Wozigham alias Bozstow.	2
The borough of Graunpount.	2
The borough of Castlow.	2
The borough of Burie.	2
The borough of Tregonis.	2
The borough of Trebenna alias Bostumie.	2
The borough of St. Ives.	2
The	

The description of England.

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The borough of Fowlaie.	2	The citie of Lincoln.	2
The borough of Germaine.	2	The borough of Bosstone.	2
The borough of Michell.	2	The borough of great Grimsbie.	2
The borough of saint Maries.	2	The borough of Stamford.	2
Cumberland.	2	The borough of Grantham.	2
Knights.	2	Leicestershire.	2
The citie of Caerleill.	2	Knights.	2
Cambridge.	2	The borough of Leicester.	2
Knights.	2	Lancasterhire.	2
The borough of Cambridge.	2	10 Knights.	2
Chester.	2	The borough of Lancaster.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Preston in Andernes.	2
The citie of Chester.	2	The borough of Liverpool.	2
Darbie.	2	The borough of Newton.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Wigan.	2
The borough of Darbie.	2	The borough of Clithero.	2
Devon.	2	Middlesex.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of Excester.	2	The citie of London.	4
The borough of Totnes.	2	20 The citie of Westminster.	2
The borough of Plimmouth.	2	Monmouth.	2
The borough of Wardsleable.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Plimton.	2	The borough of Monmouth.	2
The borough of Tauesloche.	2	Northampton.	2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton,	2	Knights.	2
and Verdines.	2	The citie of Peterborough.	2
Dorsetshire.	2	The borough of Northampton.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Barkleie.	2
The borough of Poole.	2	The borough of Bigham Ferris.	2
The borough of Dorchester.	2	Nottingham.	2
The borough of Linne.	2	30 Knights.	2
The borough of Melcombe.	2	The borough of Nottingham.	2
The borough of Waiernmouth.	2	The borough of Grestatford.	2
The borough of Bureport.	2	Norffolke.	2
The borough of Shaffesburie.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Warham.	2	The citie of Norwich.	2
Essex.	2	The borough of Linne.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of great Farnemouthe.	2
The borough of Colchester.	2	The borough of Thetford.	2
The borough of Spalden.	2	40 The borough of castell Kising.	2
Yorkeshire.	2	Northumberland.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of York.	2	The borough of New castell upon Tyne.	2
The borough of Kingston upon Hull.	2	The borough of Rospeth.	2
The borough of Linnesborough.	2	The borough of Barwike.	2
The borough of Skardborough.	2	Oxford.	2
The borough of Kippon.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of Hudon.	2	The citie of Oxford.	2
The borough of Wobroughbridge.	2	The borough of Bamburie.	2
The borough of Thulke.	2	50 The borough of Wadsworth.	2
The borough of Aldeborough.	2	Rutland.	2
The borough of Weuerleie.	2	Knights.	2
Glocestershire.	2	Surreie.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The citie of Glocester.	2	The borough of Southwarke.	2
The borough of Cirencester.	2	The borough of Blechingleigh.	2
Huntingtonshire.	2	The borough of Kigate.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Guildford.	2
The borough of Huntingdon.	2	The borough of Gatton.	2
Hertfordshire.	2	60 The borough of Stafford.	2
Knights.	2	Knights.	2
The borough of saint Albons.	2	The citie of Lichfield.	2
Herefordshire.	2	The borough of Stratford.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of New castell under Linne.	2
The citie of Hereford.	2	The borough of Tamworth.	2
The borough of Kempster.	2	Salop.	2
Kent.	2	Knights.	2
Knights.	2	The borough of Salop.	2
The citie of Canturburie.	2	The borough of Wuges alias Widdgenoz.	2
The citie of Rochester.	2	The borough of Lichfield.	2
The borough of Maidstone.	2	The borough of Wlenlocke.	2
The borough of Quinborough.	2	Southampton.	2
Lincolne.	2	Knights.	2
Knights.	2	The citie of Winton.	2

The description of England.

The borough of Southampton.	2	The borough of Flint.	1
The borough of Portsmouth.	2	Denbigh.	1
The borough of Peterfield.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Stockbridge.	2	The borough of Denbigh.	1
The borough of Christ church.	2	Merioneth.	1
Suffolke.	1	Knights.	1
Knights.	2	The borough of Haverfordwest.	1
The borough of Ipswich.	2	Carneruan.	1
The borough of Dunwich.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Oxford.	2	10 The borough of Carneruan.	1
The borough of Abbeborough.	2	Angleseic.	1
The borough of Sudburie.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Eya.	2	The borough of Beaumares.	1
Summerfet.	1	Carmarden.	1
Knights.	2	Knights.	1
The citie of Wiffow.	2	The borough of new Carmarden.	1
The citie of Bath.	2	Pembroke.	1
The citie of Welles.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Taunton.	2	The borough of Pembroke.	1
The borough of Bridgewater.	2	10 Cairdigan.	1
The borough of Ginchel.	2	Knights.	1
Suffex.	1	The borough of Castridgan.	1
Knights.	2	Brecknoch.	1
The citie of Chichester.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Hozham.	2	The borough of Brecknoch.	1
The borough of Spidhurst.	2	Radnor.	1
The borough of Lewes.	2	Knights.	1
The borough of Hozham.	2	The borough of Radnor.	1
The borough of Bember.	2	Glamorgan.	1
The borough of Stening.	2	30 Knights.	1
The borough of Castgreneffed.	2	The borough of Cardiffe.	1
The borough of Arundell.	2		
Westmerland.	1		
Knights.	2		
The borough of Appulbis.	2		
Wilton.	1		
Knights.	2		
The citie of Peter Sarum.	2		
The borough of Wilton.	2		
The borough of Dounton.	2		
The borough of Hindon.	2		
The borough of Heitesburie.	2		
The borough of Westburie.	2		
The borough of Caine.	2		
The borough of Deuilles.	2		
The borough of Chipenham.	2		
The borough of Palmesburie.	2		
The borough of Cricklade.	2		
The borough of Budwin.	2		
The borough of Ludgesale.	2		
The borough of Old Sarum.	2		
The borough of Wotton Bassett.	2		
The borough of Sparleborough.	2		
Worcester.	1		
Knights.	2		
The citie of Worcester.	2		
The borough of Wiltche.	2		
Warwike.	1		
Knights.	2		
The citie of Couentrie.	2		
The borough of Warwike.	2		
Barons of the ports.	1		
Hastings.	2		
Winchellse.	2		
Rie.	2		
Rumneie.	2		
Withe.	2		
Douer.	2		
Sandwich.	2		
Mountgomerie.	1		
Knights.	1		
The borough of Mountgomerie.	1		
Flint.	1		
Knights.	1		

The summe of the foresaid number of
the common house videlicet, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.

439.

Of the lawes of England since his
first inhabitation.

Chap.9.

30 **T**hat Samoths of Dis gave
the first lawes to the Celtes
(whose kingdome he created
about the fiftieth of Pim-
brote) the testimonie of Bero-
sus is pofe fufficient for he
not onelie affirmeth him to
publish the same in the fourth
of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there lived
none in his daies of more excellent wifdome, nor po-
litike inuention than he, whereof he was named
Samoths, as some other do affirme. What his lawes
were, it is now altogether unknowne, as most
things of this age; but that they were altered againe
at the comming of Albion, no man can abfolutelis
denie, fith new lords vfe commonlie to giue new
lawes, and conquerors abolishe fuch as were in vfe
before them.

The like alfo may be affirmed of our Brites, not
withftanding that the certeine knowledge fo well of
the one as of the other is perished, and nothing mo-
re memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat
yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued
fuch princes as reigned in this land, but alfo brought
the realme to good order, that long before had bene
tozne with ciuill difcord. But where his lawes are to
be found, and which they be from other mens, no
man living in thefe daies is able to determine.

Certes

The praise of
Dunwallon.

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of
whome his subiects conceived better hope in the be-
ginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none
that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath
not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies
were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwal-
lon (king Henrie the first excepted) and yet in the end
he proved such a prince, as after his death there was
in manner no subject, that did not lament his fune-
rals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance,
seuere administration of iustice, and prouident fram-
ing of his lawes and constitutions, for the govern-
ment of his subiects. His people also, conuicting to
continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those
his ordinances according to their maker, calling
them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which
indured in execution among the Britons, so long as
our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. After-
ward when the coming Sarons had once obtained
the superiortie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those
lawes fell for a time into such decaye, that although
Non penitus cecidit, sed non potuit cecidisse uideri, as Le-
land saith, and the decrees themselves had utterlie
perished in deed at the verie first hunt, had they not
bene preserved in Wales, where they remained a-
mongst the reliques of the Britons, & not onlie untill
the coming of the Normans, but even untill the
time of Edward the first, who obtaining the soue-
reignie of that position, indeuoured verie earnestlie
to ertinguish those of Mulmutius, and to establish his
owne.

But as the Sarons at their first arrivall did what
they could to abolish the British lawes, so in proceſse
of time they yielded a little to relent, & not so much
to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius,
as to receiue and embrace the same, especiallie at
such time as the said Saron princes entered into
amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that be-
gan to soine in matrimonie with the British ladies,
as the British barons did with the Saron stowes,
both by an especiall statute and decree, wherof in an-
other treatise I haue made mention at large. Her-
of also it came to passe in the end, that they were
contented to make a choise, and insert no small num-
bers of them into their owne volumes, as may be
gathered by those of Athelbert the great, surnamed
king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west
Saron, and diuerse other yet extant to be seene.
Such also was the lateward estimation of them,
that when anie of the Saron princes went about
to make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulmu-
tius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine)
to be first expounded vnto them, and in this perusal
if they found anie there already framed, that might
serue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the same,
and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most
of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the
best, but gathered together all such whatsoeuer the
said Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they
should lie no more in corners as forlozue bookes, and
vnbknowne to the learned of his kingdom, he cau-
sed them to be turned into the Saron tongue, wherein
they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither re-
garded the British, nor cared for the Saron statutes,
they also at the first utterlie misliked of them, till at
the last, when they had well weighed that one kind of
regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that
no stranger, being in a forren countrie newlie
brought vnder obedience, could make such equall or-
dinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new
common-wealth without some care & trouble: they
fell in with such a desire to see by what rule the state of

the land was gouerned in time of the Sarons, that
hauing perused the same, they not onelie commen-
ded their manner of regiment, but also admitted a
great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the
name of S. Edwards lawes, and vied as principles
and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the
rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost in-
tolerable burden of seruitude which they had latelie
laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left
vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes,
wherof the most part are in vse to this daie as I
said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to dis-
tinguish them from others, that are in strength a-
mongst vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiver was Mar-
tia, whome Leland surnameth Proba; and after him
John Bale also, who in his Centuries doth iustlie con-
fesse himselfe to haue bene holpen by the said Le-
land, as I my selfe do likewise for manie things
contained in this treatise. Shee was wife vnto Gut-
teline king of the Britons: and being made protec-
trix of the realme, after hir husbands deceasse in the
nonage of hir sonne, and seeing manie things dallie
to grow vp among hir people worthe reformation,
she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for
the gouernance of hir kingdom, which hir subiects
when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian
statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I
do not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes
of Mulmutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this
excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerse com-
mend also for hir great knowledge in the Greeke
tong) to be turned into his owne language, where-
vpon it came to passe that they were dallie erected
among his subiects, afterward allowed of (among
the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vse
in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not
discerner them also verie readilie from the other.

The seventh alteration of lawes was practised by
the Sarons, for I ouerpasse the vse of the ciuill orbi-
nances vied in Rome, finallie brought hither by the
Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuili-
ans of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor ful-
lie receiued by all the seuerall regions of this Iland.
Certes there are great numbers of these later, which
yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read,
being comprehended for the most part vnder the
names of the Martian and the Saron law. Beside
these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people
of middle England were ruled by the first, the west
Saron by the second, as Essex, Norfolk, Suffolke,
Cambridgeshire, and part of Herefordshire
were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and
intollerable. And as in these daies whatsoeuer the
prince in publike assemblee commanded vpon the
necessitie of his subiects, or his owne voluntarie au-
thoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had
appointed anie certein place, wherevnto his people
might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused
them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in
proper person they would often determine their
causes, and so make shortest worke, or else commit
the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them
awate. Neither had they any house appointed to as-
semble in for the making of their ordinances, as we
haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund
gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Ha-
bam, Alfred at Woodstock and Mannetting, Athel-
stane in Excester, Crecklade, Feuersham, & Thun-
derleie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in o-
ther places, wherof this may suffice.

Among other things also vied in the time of the
Sarons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme
of their Dydalian law, which they brought hither
with

Martia.

Martian
law.
Saron law,
Dane law.

with them from beyond the seas out of Scythia, and used onelie in the trial of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it contained not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common lawe the is practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & trial of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient booke, and conferred with an imprinted copie, lately published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. ¹⁰ Peruerthelesse, as the Scythians were the first that used this practise, so I read that it was taken up and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and bew in that behalf. But what stand I hereupon?

Ordealum
law.
Fire.

The Ordealum (saith the aforesaid author) was a certaine manner of purgation used two waies, where of the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certaine number of paces, with an hot iron in his hand; or else bare footed upon certaine plough shares red hot, according to the manner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordealum, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordealum, and whosoever did heare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged guiltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespass whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

water.

There were in like sort two kinds of trial by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold; and in this trial the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessel of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or struggling for life, he was forthwith acquitted as guiltlesse of the fact whereof he was accused; but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediately upon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without any manner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation; otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordingly. The fierie manner of purgation belongeth onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Whereof to the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole manner, which continued here in England until the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie forcereous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restrained) did extinguish it altogether as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The triall of the treatise enterceth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the guiltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and prayer, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saye, O alie workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera*, &c. he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, ut sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas,*

virtus, victoria, sanctimonia, humilitas, lonitas, lenitas, plenitudo legis, obedientia Deo patri, filio, Spiritui sancto. Et ac benedictio sit super hunc locum, et super omnes habitantes in eo. In English: *Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holiness, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humilitie, godnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it.* Then followeth the blessing of the fire:

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, habens indefectens, excelsus, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod uite sanctificationem est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) ut ab eo lumine accendamus igne claritatis tue. Et sicut ignis illuminasti Moysen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, et sanctus nostris, ut ad vitam eternam mereamur peruenire. Per Christum, &c. Lord God father almighty, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights, ²⁰ Blesse O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hath lightened all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightened with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our s. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster*, &c. then these words: *Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De non tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per invocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, et per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritui parati, ad manifestationem verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, ut sit sanctificationem, et omni demonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifestetur, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Blesse we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the invocation of thy most holie name, by the coming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of metall, that being halloved, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels utterlie remoned, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Jesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heatech, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the manner.

The office of the masse.

Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

⁶⁰ *Absolve quesumus Domine delicta famuli tui, ut a peccatorum suorum nexibus, que pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, et in hoc iudicio quoad meritis, iustitia tua proueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c.* That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the finnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offences, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his trial (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preventing him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cum egressus esset Iesus in viam, praecedens quidam genus flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Domine,

bons, quid faciam ut vitam eternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In those daies when Iesus went forth toward his iourneie, and one meeting him in the waie running, and knelling vnto him, asked him saleng: God master what shall I do that I may possesse eternall life? Iesus saide vnto him, Whie callest thou me god? &c. Then followeth the secret, and so forth all of the rest of the masse. But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall vse these words vnto him: *Adiuuo te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas reliquias que in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit, ut non prorsus villo modo communicare, neq. accedere ad altare, si hoc fecisti aut consensisti, &c.* I adiuue thee by the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, by the true christendome which thou hast receiued, by the holie reliques which are in this church, and by the baptism wherewith the priest hath regenerated thee, that thou presume not by any manner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou hast done or consented vnto this, wherof thou art accused, &c. Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, saieing; *Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem bodie.* This bodie & this blond of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a trial this daie. The praiser: *Perceptis Domine Deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, ut huius participatio sacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c.* Having receiued of Lord God these holie mysteries, we humbly beseech thee that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinelle, and in this thy seruant set forth the truth. Then shall follow Kyrieleson, the Letanie, and certeine Psalmes, and after all them Oremus: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldaeorum quibusdam pereuntibus eruiisti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Moysi & minime comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis plerisque succensis, tres pueros tuos illesos eduxisti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodome inuoluens, totum famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti: ostende nobis in hoc prauitatis nostre examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c.* & per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, ut à tactu eius cuius inquisitio agitur, conscius exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero penitus illesus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vinqum secreta effugiunt, fidei nostra tua bonitate responde, & presta ut quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absoluatur ut innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. In English thus: O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whilste other perished; O God which sufferedst the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the thre childzen from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whilste diuerse were consumed; O God which by fire didst wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the shining of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holie ghost in likenesse of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beloued not: shew vnto vs in the trial of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discern the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in trial, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in safetie, &c. O God from whom no secrets are hidden, let thy godnesse answer to our faith, and grant that whosoever in this purgation, shall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c. After this the priest shall

The cap pet
in ble.

sprinkle the iron with holie water, saieing: The blessing of God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. And forthwith let him that is accused beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and sound, let him giue thanks to God. And thus much of the fire Ordalia, where vnto that of the water hath sa preise relation, that in setting forth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherfore it shall be but in vaine to deale any further withall.

water,

Whereto also (as I thinke) sufficientlie of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Now if I receth that I should declare the order of those, that haue bene made and receiued since the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto do produce thre score and foure seuerall courts. But forasmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little skill to proceed in the same accordinglie, if shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vied in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-saie.

We haue therefore in England sundrie lawes, and first of all the ciuill, vied in the chancerie, admiraltie, and diuerse other courts, in some of which, the seuerer rigor of iustice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diuerse things are thereby made easie and tollerable, which otherwise would appeare to be more iniurie and extremitie.

Ciuill law,

We haue also a great part of the Canon law daily practised among vs, especiallie in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be sene in the consistories of our bishops and higher courts of the two archbishops, where the exercise of the same is verte hotlie folloved. The third sort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & those alwaies so variable, & subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerse iudgements do passe vpon one maner of case, whereby the saleng of the poet,

Canon law,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis, may verte well be applied vnto such, as being byged with these words; In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law, do answer nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon thre lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelve men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vied in our daies, as no appeale doth hold in the first and last rehearfed. But to returne to my purpose.

Lawiers of
England not
alwaies con-
stant in iudg-
ment.

The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the most part holden at Westminster neere London, is the highest of all other, & consisteth of thre seuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not summoned, but vpon vrgent occasion when the prince doth see his time, and that by seuerall writts, dated commonlie full six weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Wolles, or if occasion so require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the end to be confirmed by

Parlement
law.

The description of England.

by the prince, who commonlie resorteth thither of cō-
stome, upon the first and last daies of this court,
there to vnderstand what is done, and giue his roiall
consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming
therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing
taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for
one is alwaies appointed to go betwene the houses,
as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the
matters there determined by the said three estates,
and then craueth the princes consent and finall con-
firmation to the same. The king hauing heard the
summe and principall points of each estatute briefe-
lie recited vnto him, answereth in French with
great deliberation vnto such as he liketh (Il nous
plaist) but to the rest Il ne plaist, whereby the latter
are made void and frustrate. That also which his
maiestie liketh of, is hereby authorisid, confirmed,
& euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in
ante the like assemblee. The number of the com-
mons assembled in the lower house, beside the clea-
rie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of
England hath two gentlemen or knights of grea-
test wisdom and reputation, chosen out of the bo-
die of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that
for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie
countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is
made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citi-
zens, 289 burgesses, and fourtē barons, so that the
whole assemblee of the laitie of the lower house, con-
sisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if
the last number be supplied. Of the lawes here made
likewise some are penall and restraine the common
law, and some againe are found to enlarge the same.
The one sort of these also are for the most part taken
stridlie according to the letter, the other more large-
lie and beneficiallie after their intendment and mea-
ning.

Number of
congregates
in the parle-
ment.

Common
law.

The Common law standeth vpon sundrie max-
ims or principles, and yeares or termes, which doe
containe such cases as by great studie and solemne
argument of the iudges found practise confirmed by
long experience, fetched euen from the course of most
ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and
thereto the deepest reach and foundations of reason,
are ruled and adubged for law. Certes these cases
are otherwise called ples or action, wherof there are
two sorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The
meanes and messengers also to determine those cau-
ses are our writs or briefes, wherof there are some
originall and some iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe &
defendant when they appeare proceed (if the case doe so
require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer,
replication, retolinder, and so by rebut, surrebut to
issue and trial if occasion so fall out, the one side af-
firmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common ex-
perience teacheth. Our trials and recoveries are ei-
ther by verdict and demourre, confession or default,
wherein if any negligence or trespass hath bene
committed, either in proccesse and forme, or in matter
and iudgement, the partie grieved may haue a writ
of error to vndo the same, but not in the same court
where the former iudgement was giuen.

Customarie
law.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable
customs vsed in some priuat countrie, intended first
to begin vpon god and reasonable considerations,
as gavelle kind, which is all the male children equallie
to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where
it is onelie to my knowledge retained, and no where
else in England. It was at the first deuised by the
Romans, as appeareth by Caesar in his commentaries,
wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of
the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all
the male children (or females for want of males which
holdeth still in England) should haue their fathers in-

heritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this
meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before
time for the space of firtie yeares, they had put the
Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the
space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their
power did wax so feeble, and such discorde fell out a-
mongst themselves, that they were not able to main-
teine warres with the Romans, nor raise anye iust
armie against them. For as a riuer running with one
streame is swift and more plentifull of water than
when it is dyained or dyatone into manie branches:
so the lands and goods of the ancestors being disper-
sed amongst their issue males, of one strong there
were raised sundrie weakes, whereby the originall or
generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became in-
feebled and brought almost to nothing. *Primum* (saith
the philosopher) *fortior est eadem dispersa*, and one good
purse is better than manie euill, and when euerie
man is benefited alike, each one will seeke to main-
teine his priuate estate, and few take care to pro-
uide for publike welfare.

Barrow kind, is where the yongest is preferred be-
fore the eldest, which is the custome of manie coun-
tries of this region; also the woman to haue the third
of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth
an heiress to haue such lands as move by hir during
his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by
hir which hath bene heard crye thorough foure walls,
&c: of such like to be learned elswhere, and some-
times frequented generallie ouer all.

Prescription is a certeine custome, which hath con-
tinued time out of minde, but it is more particular
than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or
some priuat person doth prescribe to haue common,
or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be paid
after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than
the common course and order of the law requireth,
whereof let this suffice at this time, in stead of a lar-
ger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should
seeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no
skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of
God to doe with anye pccesse knowledge of the law
of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to
diuerse persons?

Prescription

There are also sundrie vsuall courts holden once
in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie
call termes, of the Latine word *terminus*, wherein all
controuersies are determined, that happen within
the Quenes dominions. These are commonlie
holden at London, except vpon some great occasion
they be transferred to other places. At what times al-
so they are kept both for spirituall and tempozall dea-
ling, the table ensuing shall easilie declare. Finally
how well they are followed by sutoys, the great
wealth of lawiers without anye trauell of mine can
readilie expresse. For as after the coming of the
Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them
the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land doth
flow vnto our common lawiers, of whom some one
hauing practised little about thirtene or fourtē
yeares is able to buye a purchase of so manie 1000
pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and
will be richer if their clients become not the more tol-
ler & warre hereafter. It is not long, since a sergrant
at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon
an extort, for three or foure hundred pounds, and an-
other standing by did greatlie maruell that he could
not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction
of that dutie. The time hath bene that our lawiers
did sit in podelles vpon stools against the pillars and
walles to get clients, but now some of them will not
come from their chambers to the Guildhall in Lon-
don vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the least.
And one being demanded why he made so much of his

Term.

Deceit.

Some of our
lawyers scope
not at small
law.

Poore men
contentious.

Promoters
like matters
to set lawyers
on worke
withall.

his traueill, answered, that it was but folke for him
to go so farre, when he was assured to get more mo-
nie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had
a sute of late of some valure, and to be sure of coun-
sell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawyers (whose
names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a
peece, telling them of the date and houre wherein his
matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came
not vnto the barre at all, wherupon he staied for that
date. On the morrow after he met them againe, in-
creased his former gifts by so much more, and told
them of the time, but they once againe serued him as
before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall
doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their
incourteous demeanour toward him, he besought
either thre angels or foure more vpon each of them,
wherupon they promised peremptorie to speake
earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of
them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie decei-
ued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a
scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he
spake not aboue thre or foure words, almost so sone
vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar,
and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and
the care which his counsellours did seme to take of
his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough
of these matters, for if I should set downe how lit-
tle law poore men can haue for their small fees in
these daies, and the great murmurings that are on
all sides vttered against their excessive taking of
monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should
extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than
is conuenient for my purpose. Wherfore it shall suf-
fice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour,
and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke
with somewhat more conscience into their dealings,
except they be dull and senselesse.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the
princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected
sundry courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Poole
and Andlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in
those parts, yet will the poore (of all men commonlie
most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so
nere home, but indonoureth rather to his bitter
dwelling to traueill vp to London, thinking there so-
nest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his
case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our
Welshmen doe exceed of all that euer I heard, for
you shall here and there haue some one od poore
Dauid of them giuen so much to contention and strife,
that without all respect of charges he will vp to Lon-
don, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie
his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wea-
ring) because he hath no change. When he cometh
thers also, he will make such importunate begging
of his countrymen, and hard shift otherwise, that he
will sometimes carie downe six or seuen wits with
him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neighbor,
though the greatest quarrell be scarcelie worth the
fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough
of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a
few brawlers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to
my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes
it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a
number of poore men are daillie abused and vtterlie
vndone, by sundrie barlets that go about the coun-
trie, as promoters or brokers betwene the pettie
foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onlie
to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby
the one side may reape commoditie, and the other
spend and be put to traueill. But of all that euer I
knew in Essex, Denes and Painford excelled, till
John of Lublow, alias Gascon came in place, vnto
whome in comparison they two were but children:

for this last in lesse than thre or foure yeares, did
bring one man (among manie else-where in other
places) almost to extream miserie (if beggerie be
the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his
beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake
with the least) and finally feeling that he had not suf-
ficient wherewith to susteine himselfe and his familie,
and also to satisfie that greedie rauensour, which still
called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and
within foure daies made an end of his woofull life,
euen with care and penitence. After his death also
he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer threpe
thorne in spate, so nere clipped of his slece present,
as he was of manie to come: so that he was com-
pelled to let awaie his land, because his cattell & stocke
were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the
ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these
enormities, a table shall follow of the termes con-
taining their beginnings and endings, as I haue bo-
rowed them from my friend Iohn Stow, whose studie
is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time,
and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and
honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the ere-
ction of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter,
or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appoint-
ment of the same to be holden in one place onlie,
to wit, nere London in Westminster, and finally
the great expences employed vpon the same, should
be no small cause of the staie and hinderance of the
administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth
out they proue great occasions and the staie of much
contention. The reasons of these are sone to be con-
ceiued, for as the broken sleue doth hold the elbow
backe, and paine of traueill cause manie to sit at
home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of
delaie doth drive those oftentimes to like of peace,
who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be
at ods. Some men desirous of gaires would haue
the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might
ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses
made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to
minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes
are rather too short than too long by one returne a
peece: so if there were smaller roomes and smaller
waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make
patoses before they did rashlie enter into ple. But
with my purpose is not to make an ample discourse
of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times
of the holding of our termes, which insue after this
manner.

The times of
our termes
no hinderance
to iustice.

A perfect rule to know the begin-
ning and ending of euerie terme, with
their returnes.

Hislarie terme beginneth the thre and twentieth
daie of Januarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwisse
the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Fe-
bruarie, it hath foure returnes.

Octabis Hilarij. } Crastino Purific. }
Quind. Hilarij. } Octabis Purific. }
¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentene daies after
Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie,
and hath five returnes.

Quind. Pasch. } Menfe } Quinque Pascha. }
Tres Pascha. } Pascha. } Crast. Ascension. }

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the frideaie after
Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fort-
night after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

Crast. Trinitatis. } Quind. Trinitatis. }
Octabis Trinitatis. } Tres Trinitatis. }

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of Oc-
tober (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and
twentieth

The description of England.

twentieth of November, it hath eight returns.

Octabis Michael. Craft. anima.
Quind. Michael. Craft. Martini.
Tres Michael. Osta. Martini.
Mense Michael. Quind. Martini.

Note also that the checker, which is *Fisim* or *cratum publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, whereunto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomed holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarce one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vpon to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being soe in the meane season, that the use of the poppish calendar is so much retained in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, with most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawyers will not let them go awoie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peradventure inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith. All Soules. S. Andrew.
S. Edward. S. Martin. Conception
S. Luke. Edmund. of the virgin
Simon & Iu. Katharine. Marie.

It is to be remembred that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Boto church in the forenone. And the same first daie in the afternone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution done continually according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenone. And the selfe daie in the afternone, in the same place is the prerogative court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quenes highnesse commissioners vpon appeals is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie. S. Scolastic. S. Chad.
S. Wolstan. S. Valentine. Perpet. & Fel.
Conuerfion. Ashwednes. S. Gregoric.
of S. Paule. S. Matthie. Annuciation
S. Blase. of our Ladie.

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certaine and vchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept because the lawdaie of the other feast doth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept convenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seventh in order, yet it hath no cer-

teine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter terme.

The sixteenth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege. Gordian.
S. Marke. S. Dunstan.
Inuention of the crosse. Ascension daie.

In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the sixteenth daie after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, doe come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the sixteenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie fundae. S. Butolph. S. Swithune.
Corpus Christi. S. Iohn. S. Margaret.
Boniface bish. S. Paule. S. Anne.
S. Barnabie. Tranlat. Thomas.

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papistical feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day afozenamed: which chanceth sometime, and then the sifter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then loke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other lawdaies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought meet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundaie or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

Of prouision made for the poore.

Chap. 10.



There is no common wealth at this daie in Europe, wherein there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieved by the welthier sort, which otherwile would starue and come to vter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into thre sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decayed householder, and the sicke person visited with grievous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of idle, lesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the bagabund that will abide no where, but runneth by and dothome from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finally the roge and drumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sunder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, chafelie keeping the champagne soles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

These sorts of poore.

For the first two sorts, that is to saie, the poore by
impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are
the true poore in deed, and for whom the word doth
bind vs to make some daillie prouision: there is
order taken throught out euerie parish in the realme,
that weeklie collection shall be made for their helpe
and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter
abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both
towne and countrie. Anthozitie also is giuen vnto
the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties
appointed for such as make default, to see that the in-
tent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed,
according to the purpose and meaning of the same,
so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for:
and such as can liue within the limits of their allow-
ance (as each one will do that is godlie and well dis-
posed) may well forbeare to come and range about.
But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of
the law, and will rather indenuour by going to and
fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they ad-
iudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in stead of
courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected
with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad.
Whanie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of
the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yield rather with
this libertie (as they call it) to be daillie vnder the
feare and terror of the whip, than by abiding where
they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the de-
uotion of the parishes. I found not long since a note
of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle
beggars are such either through other mens occa-
sion, or through their owne default. By other mens
occasion (as one waite for example) when some coue-
tous man, such I meane as haue the cast or right
beine, daillie to make beggars inough wherby to pe-
ster the land, espieng a further commoditie in their
commons, holds, and tenures, doth find such meanes
as thereby to wipe mante out of their occupiengs,
and turne the same vnto his priuate gaines. Here-
vpon it followeth, that although the wise and better
minded, do either for sake the realme for altogether,
and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Ger-
manie, Barbarie, India, Polconia, and verie Cale-
cute, complaining of no come to be left for them at
home, do so behaue themselves that they are worthe-
lie to be accompted among the second sort: yet the
greater part commonlie hauing nothing to saie
vpon are willfull, and therevpon do either proue idle
beggars, or else continue sharke theues till the gal-
lowes do eat them vp, which is a lamentable case.
Certes in some mans iudgements these things are
but trifles, and not worthe the regarding. Some also
do grudge at the great increas of people in these
daies, thinking a necessarie boud of cattell farre bet-
ter than a superfluous augmentation of mankind.
But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope
and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the fur-
niture of the number of the elect to their vttermost;
to the end the anthozitie of the one vpon earth, the de-
ferring of the locking vp of the other in euerallick
chaines, and the great gaines of the first may conti-
nue and indure the longer. But if it should come to
passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which
the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should
these men find that a wall of men is farre better
than stacks of corne and bags of monie, and com-
plaine of the want when it is too late to seeke re-
medie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise
their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and
the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous
and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disur-
bance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with
my purpose.

Such as are idle beggars through their owne de-

fault are of two sorts, and continue their estates ei-
ther by casual or more voluntarie meanes: those
that are such by casual means, are in the beginning
iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort
of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into
the third sort, they do what they can to continue
their miserie, and with such impediments as they
haue to fraie and wander about, as creatures abhor-
ring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes I
call these casual meanes, not in respect of the origi-
nall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the
same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such
is their owne ingratiuous lewdnesse, and stoward
disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from
outward causes, as by making of cozosines, and ap-
plieng the same to the moze fleshy parts of their bo-
dies: and also lateng of rattbane, sperewort, crow-
foot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby
to raise pittifull and odious sores, and moue the harts
of the goers by such places where they lie, to perne at
their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse
vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible
speech, and how they select and chose out wordes of be-
hemencie, whereby they do in maner conture or ad-
iure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to re-
member, as iudging the name of God and Christ to
be moze conuerfant in the mouthes of none: and yet
the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from
no men than from this ingratiuous companie. Which
maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre mee-
ter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith
Christ willet vs cheate to haue a regard to himselfe
and his poore members.

Vnto this next is another sort to be referred, moze
sturdie than the rest, which hauing sound and perfect
lims, do yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeite
the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times
in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or
labozers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners,
and seeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine,
they are all theues and caterpillers in the common
wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat,
sith they do but like the sweat from the true labo-
rers browes, & bereane the godlie poore of that which
is due vnto them, to mainteine their excess, confu-
ming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed
vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable maner.

It is not yet full threescore yeares since this trade
began: but how it hath prospered since that time,
it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one
ser and another, to amount vnto about 10000 per-
sons: as I haue heard reported. Whereouer, in coun-
terfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a
language among themselves, which they name Can-
ting, but other peblers French, a speech compact
thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number
of od wordes of their owne deuising, without all or-
der or reason: and yet such is it as none but them-
selues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser there-
of was hanged by the necke, a iust reward no doubt
for his desert, and a common end to all of that pro-
fession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great
paines to search out the secret practises of this in-
gratiuous rable. And among other things he setteth
downe and describeth thre & thentie sorts of them;
whose names it shall not be amisse to remember,
wherby ech one may take occasion to read and know
as also by his industrie what wicked people they are,
and what villanie remaineth in them.

The severall disorders and degrees amongst
our idle vagabonds.

- | | | | |
|---|-------------|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Kuffers. | 3 | Hokers or Anglers. |
| 2 | Uprightmen. | 4 | Roges. |
| | | | 5 |
| | | | Willis |

It thing of-
ten seen.

It whose
hands shall
the blood of
these men be
required.

Thomas
Harman.

5 **W**ild roges.6 **D**iggers oꝝ pꝛau-
sers.7 **D**allards.8 **F**raters.9 **A**bjams.10 **F**reshwater mari-
ners, oꝝ whiplacks.11 **D**ummerers.12 **D**runken tinkers.13 **S**wadders oꝝ ped-
lers.14 **F**arkemen oꝝ patri-

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them, as vpon thieues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enemies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable robberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yong children, burning, breaking and dissingoring their limbs to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I need not rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this manner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie oꝝ sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, oꝝ the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their othes, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person worth five pounds in the quenes books in goods, oꝝ twentie shillings in lands, oꝝ some rich householder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, boyled likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a felon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie oꝝ sanctuary, as by the statute doth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finally, we find to be compassed all pꝛocꝝ that go vp and dōwne with counterfeit licences, cosiniers, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, pꝛactisers of physionomie and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, sensers, plaiers, minstrels, jugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fens, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our beauewards are not excepted, and full cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, oꝝ for want of power to master their savage beafts, bene occasion of the death and deuoracion of manie children in sundrie countreies by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is & haue bene manie sharpe lawes made for beauewards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth oꝝ aideth them with meat oꝝ monie, is fared and compelled to fine with the quenes maiestie for euerie time that he doth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue bene informed. And thus much of the pꝛocꝝ, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

coes.

¶ Of women kind.

1 **D**emanders for glim-
mar oꝝ fire.2 **B**audie baskets.3 **P**otes.4 **A**ntem mores.5 **W**alking mores.6 **D**oces.7 **D**elles.8 **K**inching mores.9 **K**inching coes.

Of sundrie kinds of punishments appointed for malefactors.

Chap. II.

In cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murder, rape, piracy, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason oꝝ hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offender is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vied in other countreies we haue no knowledge oꝝ vse, and yet so few greuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also oꝝ question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatly abhorred, with vs are found alwaies to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vied in other countreies. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons do go so cherefullie to their deaths, for our nation is free, stout, hardie, prodigall of life and blood, as sir Thomas Smith saith *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vied as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuall beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. For our gallies are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most greuous punishment vied in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardie oꝝ sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliae, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided nere hand and within their owne sight, even for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespass be not the more heinous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of peomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lordes of the parlement) this manner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence do run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, felonie, oꝝ anie other greuous crime not confessed, the partie accused doth yeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his peeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat oꝝ battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of felonie, manslaughter, &c: he is execution hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murder, done either vpon pretended malice, oꝝ in anie notable roberie, he is either hanged aliae in chaines nere the place where the fact was committed (oꝝ else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the whele noꝝ of the barre, as in other countreies; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offender hath his right hand commonlie stricken off before oꝝ nere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word felon is deriued of the Saron words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one.

a one of unfamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word felonie are manie greuous crimes contained, as breach of prison An. 1. of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seventh. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3. of Henrie the eighth. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seventh. Embesilling of goods committed by the master to the servant, above the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eighth. Carling of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eighth. Sodomitie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eighth. Stealing of halibut eggs An. 31. of Henrie the eighth. Contriving, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging bp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophecies upon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bills An. 37. Hen. 8. Willfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the first. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the first. Diminution of coine, all offences within case of premunire, embesilling of records, goods taken from dead men by their servants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, upon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of beere by night, counterfeiters of coine, cutleryes, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned alive, if the servant kill his master he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murder all the accessories are to suffer paines of death accordingly. Perjurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the retwaling of the trees growing upon the grounds of the offenders and losse of all his moveables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offender, as the utterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, carriers of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in hats, in churches and market steds are often put to rebuke. Whoebeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offenders, so I would with adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot that into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe into their former trades? Whoebeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betwene Lambeth and Westminster at the talle of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted upon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onlie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being to seuer in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eyes or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appeareth of what estimation marriage was amongst them, with the breakers of that holie estate were so greivously rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more favourable with them, than

ting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were married, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that arie seueritie was shewed, except upon such late men as had defiled their nuns. As in thest therfore so in adulterie and whoredome I would with the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaves unto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the galleies: for that punishment would prove more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the purlie, wherein the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made under Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselves are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but shewes are hanged (as I said before) generally on the gibbet or gallowes, saving in Haliar where they are beheaded after a strange manner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath bene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Haliar, that who soeuer doth commit anie felonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact upon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirtene pence halfe pence, he is forthwith beheaded upon one of the next market daies (which fall usually upon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdays) or else upon the same daie that he is so convicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which doth ride by and dothone in a slot, rabet, or regall betwene two peeces of timber, that are framed and set upright of five paces in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keted or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastened by a wooden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) unto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth dothone among the people, so that when the offender hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euery man there present doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so nere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened doth fall dothone with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodis by an huge distance. If it be so that the offender be apprehended for an ox, oren, sheepe, kine, horse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere unto them, so that they being driuen do draw out the pin wherby the offender is executed. Thus much of Haliar law, which I set dothone onlie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked upon cuckingstoles in the water. Such fellows as stand mute and speake not at their arraignment are pressed to death by huge weights laid upon a board, that lieth ouer their breast, and a sharpe stone under their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods unto their wives and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Shewes that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first offence,

Haliar law.

Gale.

Cleargie.

offense, if they haue stolen nothing els but orren, shaype, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or dores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the bzatone of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke betwixt them to haue bene arraigned of felonie before, where by they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I do not read that this custome of sauing by the boke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither do I find after much diligent inquirie that Saxons prince ordeined that lawe. Holobett, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiteurs of this land to the loue of learning, which before contented letters and all god knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselves to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue bene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be learned for: weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoever anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the thye at loose water marke, where they are left till thre tides haue ouerwashed them. Finally, such as hauing tows and banks nere vnto the sea, and do suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and doleth vpon the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and flaked in the breaich, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we do not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murders (such I meane as are not sildome sene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerely punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischefe done in England than by robberies, the first by yong thieving gentlemen, which oftentimes do beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by seruimgmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches, wherefore they are now and then constrained either to keepe high wales, and brake into the wealthie mens houses with the first foyt, or else to walke vp and dolone in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to ste and vlew which houses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduenture it hath bene knowne by their confession at the gallows, that some one such chapman hath had foytie, fiftie, or sixtie shilling houses at pasture here and there about in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselves in the meane season being taken about home for honest peomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue bene betwaxed. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie towne man, he vttered also more houses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable pentworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine enough,

and yet such was his estimation, that each beleued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annouers of the common-wealth are rogues, which do verie great mischefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is sly that cometh to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trusted vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein thre hundred or foure hundred of them are not denouced and eaten vp by the gallows in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writteth it vpon the report of the bishop of Leronia) in the geniture of king Edward the first, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie seuerely against such idle persons, I meane great theues, petty theues and rogues, did hang by thre score and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatly to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle foyt, hauing once serued: but sene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes already made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish toynes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well provided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murder committed, the constable of the village whereunto he cometh and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after sery made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offender is harbored and found. It is also provided, that if anie parish in this businesse do not hir dutie, but suffereth the thefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leane his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, holobett I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellows being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that theues haue bene let passe, because the couetous and greedy parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when huc and crie haue bene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said: God restore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time. And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vncyrecuted, malefactors emboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath sweet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

Of the maner of building and
furniture of our houses.

Chap. 12.

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the commonaltie (except here & there in the West countrie townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many rabels, with stable and all offices vnder one rofe, the like wherof almost is to be seene in the fennie countries and now therne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are enforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in speaking of building to make a distinction betwene the plaine and wooddie soiles: for as in these, our houses are commonlie strong and well timbered, so that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, fir, or nine inches betwene stud and stud; so in the open and champaigne countries they are enforced for want of stiffe to vse no studs at all, but onlie franke posts, rafters, beames, pyckeposts, groundels, summers (or doymants) transoms, and such principals, with here and there a girding, wherunto they fasten their splints or rabels, and then cast it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwile would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quene Maries daies to wonder, but chiefe when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like sort as euerie countrie house is thus appareled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie rooms aboue and beneath; and where plenty of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwile with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be nere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of these the first doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalker, the second is called lome, but the third estones chaungeth colour so some as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throught out of the pit. Of chalker also we haue our excellent Albessos or white lime, made in most places, wherewith being quenched we strike ouer our claie workes and stone walls, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemen houses: otherwile in stead of chalker (where it wanteth for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones and shels of oysters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eschew water whereby it is dissolved, and neuertheless desire oile wherewith it is easilie mixed, as I haue seene by experience. Within their doyes also such as are of shilt, do oft make their stowes and parget of fine

alabaster burned, which they call plasser of Paris, wherof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plattering likewile of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laie first a latine or two of white mortar tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with saplaths for falling downe) and finally couer all with the aforesaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stoffe it selfe, is laied on so euene and smoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactnesse. The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapistrie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherin either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are skained, or else they are sealed with oile of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwile they would be. As for stones we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require it. This also hath bene common in England, contrary to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene (for example in most streets of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie bene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Whereby moreover it is come to passe, that the fronts of our streets haue not bene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the better side of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and breasie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houses in stead of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oile in chekerwile. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Barons (who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also since the time of Benedict Biscop the monke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land) did make panels of hoine in stead of glasse, & fir them in wooden calmes. But as hoine in windowes is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, because glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obscure mention of the specular stone also to haue bene found and applied to this vse in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certaine.ouertheless certaine it is that antiquitie vsed it before glasse was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this present, although it be directed beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & nere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riseth a brooke called sometime Belus, and falleth into the sea nere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie ascribed vnto Baal, and also honozed vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Irael. It came to passe also as a certaine merchant sailed that waie laden with pitram, the passengers went to land for to repose themselves, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessel. Being also on the shore they kindled a fire, and made provision for their dinner, but because they wanted treuels or stones wherewith

K.ij.

to

to set their bettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which served their turne for that present. So be shott, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laye vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the comparie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and forthwith began to practise the like in other nities, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also issue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceived by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Verill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudley castle) and in diuerse other places with fine chistall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, where of also some fragments haue bene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most esteemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which should be so good as the best, if we were diligent and careful to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Whereof the mansion houses of our countrie towne and villages (which in champaigne ground stand altogether by streets, & ioining one to another, but in woodland soiles disperfed here and there, each one vpon the severall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor byrehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe, as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from another. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sundry, but that the godman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his minie if anie danger should attack him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue bene and are withoutie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are comonlie either of byche or hard stone, or both; their roones large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with byche and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our peares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in manner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlio. Neuertheless, their estimation more than their grade and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasteful of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also erreth, and is growne in manner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapisserie, siluer vessels, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupboards, to the summe oftentimes

of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe doth grow to be almost incalculable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to beheld generalie their great prouision of tapisserie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupboards of plate, worth fine or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their ioined beds with tapisserie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploye it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither do I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioisse rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilst I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excellent prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is daile plucked from the commonaltie by such as looke into euerie trade, we do yet find the means to obtaine & atchieue such furniture as heretofore hath bene impossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted these things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; & other these things too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their young daies there were not aboue two or thre, if so manie in most vplandish towne of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords & waies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but each one made his fire against a reredolle in the hall, where he dined and dyessed his meat.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full off vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet vnder couerlets made of bagwoain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in stead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seven yeares after his marriage purchased a mattress or stocke-bed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture late seldome in a bed of downe or whole feathers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the picking straws that ran off through the canuas of the pallet, and raised their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessel, as of frame platters into pewter, and wooden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of frame stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be indly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a colt, or an horse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the bittermost

These things
greatly
amended
in
England.

Chimnies.

Hard lodging

Furniture of
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nerall sales
nelle.

most by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one or farmer or husbandman had bene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst sir or seven of his neighbours, and there in a braverie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his purse, and therein a noble or six shillings in silver vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold because it was not so readie payment, and they were oft enforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angel) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to forty, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaires verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seven yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with so much more in od vellsell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie conerlids and carpets of tapestry, a silver salt, a bottle for wine (if not an whole neash) and a dozen of spones to furnish by the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne clere, for what stocke of monie he gathereth & laieeth vp in all his yeares, it is often seene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he reneweth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuerfion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, so (beside the decaye of houses keeping whereby the poore haue bene relieved) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grievous vnto them, to wit, the inhanling of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailye oppression of copyholders, whose lords seeke to bying their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailye deuising new meanes, and seeking by all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seven times increasing their fines, bying them also for euerie trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme doth stand and is mainteined) to the end they may seeke them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes, now perfectly practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accompted but for a foole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was *Sors pro sorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called *vsura*, we challenge *Fenus*, that is commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine *vsura ex sextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to five, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to six, called *Ex semisse*, &c. as the accompt of the *Assis* ariseth, and comming at the last vnto *vsura ex asse*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centesima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. See Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Athenæus lib. 13. in fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praye thee in lawfull manner to hang by such as take *Centu pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I do iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seme (as it were) to pay them by and deale with bondmen, so that if the

lease be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull conuents, I am sorie to report it, much more greued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorrowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue any gaine at all, that they themselves become grauers, butchers, tanners, shepmaisters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to enrich themselves, and bying all the wealth of the countrey into their owne hands, leauing the communalitie weake, or as an old doll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall enforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

Of cities and townes in

England.

Cap. 13.



In old time we read that there were eight and twentie *flamines* and *archflamines* in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spiritual cases haue the charge and ouersight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopricks & archbishopricks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Couentre, and Bath and Wells, doe seme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twentie; yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier cite and see of the bishop, sith one bishopricke can haue relation but vnto one see, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue bene of exceeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decayed, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are maruellouslie altered, inso much that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from *Flouwich*, as Leland supposeth (wherein they went by Colchester) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samoth, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this land; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disproued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chester; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished toke their denomination of this prince, so there are

Six and
twentie cities
in England.

Sitomagus.
Nouiomagus.
Neomagus.
Niomagus.

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Caesar, Canadoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers doe imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlíkely, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suesionenses had a great part of this Island in subiection, as Caesar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stole ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the profe of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peradventure would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. So proceede the refoze. As soon as after the first inhabitation of this Island, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was thoroughlie furnished with his conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, doe still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the element. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Island was reserved vnto pasture, the towne and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferently, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the least wise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chesely after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euery lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by copie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferently appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of towne and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept by into the same.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

The cause of the increase of villages.

Leouitius placeth Yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus. A legion continued firtie centuries, thirtie manipli, thre cohorts.

1. London otherwise called
 - Trenouanton.
 - Cair Lud.
 - Londinum or Longidinium.
 - Augusta of the legion Augusta that sojourned there, when the Romans ruled here.
2. Yorke otherwise called
 - Cairbranke.
 - Vrouicum or Yurewije.
 - Eorwije or Eoforwije.
 - Yeworwije.
 - Eboracum.
 - Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.
3. Canturburic
 - Duroruerno alias Duraruerno.
 - Dorobernia.
 - Cantwarbiric.

4. Colchester
 - Cair Colon.
 - Cair Colden.
 - Cair Colkin of Coilus.
 - Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
 - Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.
 - Eoloncester. Tacitus.
 - Camulodunum. Prolome.
5. Lincolne
 - Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
 - Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
 - Lindum.
 - Lindocollinum.
6. Warwice
 - Cair Guttelin.
 - had some Cair Line or Cair Leon.
 - time 9 pa- Cair Gwair.
 - rish chur- Cair Vmber.
 - ches. Cair Gwaerton.
7. Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthure.
 - Cair legion.
 - Carlheon.
 - Caerlun.
 - Legecester.
 - Ciuitas legionum.
8. Carleill
 - Cair Lueill.
 - Cair Leill.
 - Lugibalia.
 - Cair Doill.
9. S. Albanes
 - Cair Maricipit.
 - Cair Municip.
 - Verolamium.
 - Verlamcester.
 - Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.
10. Winchester.
 - Cair Gwent.
 - Cair Gwin.
 - Cair Wine.
 - Venta Simenorum.
11. Cister.
 - Cair Churne.
 - Cair Kyrne.
 - Cair Kery.
 - Cair Cery.
 - Cirnecester.
 - Churnecester.
12. Silchester.
 - Cair Segent.
 - Selecester.
13. Bath.
 - Cair Badon.
 - Therma.
 - Aquæ solis.
14. Shaftesbury.
 - Cair Paladour.
 - Septonia.
15. Worcester.
 - Wigornia.
 - Cair Gworangon.
 - Brangonia.
 - Cair Frangon.
 - Woorkecester.
16. Chichester.
 - Cair Key or Cair Kis.
 - Cair Chic.
17. Bristow.
 - Cair Odernant Badon.
 - Oder.
 - Cair Bren.
 - Venta Belgarum.
 - Brightstow.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reading.

18 Ro-
cheff. { Durobreuis, corruptlie
 { Roscefter.
 { Roffa. Durobrouis.
 { Dubobruis.
 { Durobrius.

19 Porthe-
ster. { Cair Peris.
 { Cair Porcis.

20 Cair-
marden { Cair Maridunum.
 { Cair Merdine.
 { Maridunum.
 { Cair Marlin.
 { Cair Fridhin.

21 Glocester { Cair Clowy.
 { Cair Glow.
 { Claudiocestria.

22 Leir-
cefter. { Cair Beir.
 { Cair Leir.
 { Cair Lirion.
 { Wirall, recte. March. West. 895.

23 Cam-
bridge. { Grantabric.
 { Cair Graunt.

24 Cair Vrnach, peradventure Burgh
castell.
25 Cair Cucurat.
26 Cair Draiton, now a slender
village.
27 Cair Celennon.
28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dozne (another whereof I read likewise it stood some where upon the Hene in Huntingdonshire, but now unknowne, sith it was twice rased to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are in these daies not extant to be seene. And in like sort I am ignorant where most of them stood, that are noted with the star. I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called Alclud ouer and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the same goeth, and finally destroyed by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood upon the banks of the river Cluda, to wit, betwene it and the blanke on the north, and the Round lake on the west, and was sometime march betwene the Britons and the Picts, and likewise the Picts and the Scots; neuer thelesse, the castell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath bene since well repaired by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, so that it is not an hard matter by these few words to find where Alclud stood. I could here, if leisure served, and had of the printer not require dispatch, deliver the ancient names of sundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time past was called Stadford, and therefore (as I gesse) builded; or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebantou now Kimbaltou. But if anie man be desirous to see more of them, let him resort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.

when Albane
was martyred
Alepiodorus
was legat in
Britaine.

It should seme when these ancient cities flourished, that the same townes, which we now call saint Albons, did most of all excell: but cheslie in the Romans time and was not onlie nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, because it was newe, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onlie by the Britons, as the most part of the Island was also in those daies. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whose writings I have

thought good to note a few things, whereby the maiestie of this ancient citie may appeare unto posteritie, and the former estate of Werlamcester not altogether (as it hath done hitherto) raked up in forgetfulness, though the negligence of such as might have deserved better of their successors, by leaving the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. Tacitus in the tenth booke of his historie maketh mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miserably distressed; *Eastern clades* (saith he) *municipio Verolamio fecit*. And hereupon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municipi, as I before have noted. Ptolome speaking of it, doth place it among the Caruechlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentieth Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is evident, that Sullomaca stood nere to Barnet, if it were not the verie same. Of the old compasse of the walles of Verolamium there is now small knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it selfe you shall partlie understand by that which followeth at hand, after I have told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betwene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, sith *Colonia alio* *traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes diuina in ciuitatem veniunt* *sub iure & legibus vicinis*: moreover their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romanes, but they liue in the steadfast friendship and protection of the Romans, as did sometime the Cerekes who were the first people which ever obtained that priuilege. The British Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the warres deserved great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue unto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colones* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie enfranchised and indued with Roman priuileges, without anie alteration of his former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonia* is a companie sent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to possesse either a citie newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence his former citizens haue bene expelled and driven out. Now to proceed.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Elved was abbat there; who being desirous to enlarge that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillars, peeces of antike worke, thesholds, doze frames, and sundrie other peeces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, verie conuenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of marble, touch, and alabaster, beside manie curious deuises of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himselfe an happie man, and his successe to be greatly guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found sundrie pillars of brasse, and sockets of latton, alabaster and touch, all which he laid aside by great heaps, deferring in the end (I saie) to laie the foundation of a new abbate, but God so prevented his determination, that death took him awaie, before his building was begun. After him succeeded one Cadmerius, who followed the doings of Elved to the uttermost; and therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioners to search

Sullomaca and
Barnet all
one, or not far
in sunder.

yet further, within the old walles of Verolanium, where they not onelie found infinite other pices of excellent workmanship, but came at the last to certain vaults under the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorne, as the pagans left them be like in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Emmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroyed an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could do no seruice. He tooke by also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruets of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine household stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had bene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke by diuerse pots of gold, silver, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Spallingham in Norfolk, of six or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reserved it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old booke, whereof one contained the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old Britishe letters, which either because no man then living could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautes of Verolanium, whereof infinite other tokens haue bene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workmanship, the like whereof hath no whers else bene seene in any ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Werlume (afterward called Here and the Pure) did and doth so still (whatsoever Gildas talke) hereof, whose booke may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the river be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betwene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmechirke crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are meadow beneath the abbate, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said river ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such depth as of ancient times it hath bene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those also said workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shells, pices of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, wherevpon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which late then

(as some men thinke) intwalled, but it at also is false, for being there vpon occasion this summer past, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue bene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be seene running along by the old chapel hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Hallwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid your countie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Wika in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also untill the time of Alric the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then living, and by excessive charges drained it so maruolouslie, that within a while he leest it drie (sauing that he reserved a chanel for the river to haue his vsuall course, which he held by with high bankes) because there was alwaies contention betwene the monks and the kings seruants, which shewed on that water vnto the kings behoufe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Fishpole street, whereof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as take rather to yeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should seme to mistake this river.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolanium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is seene found by the bishopps, with euerie fee hath such prerogative giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse *regale ius* within his owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.	Worcester.	Chester.
50 York.	Glocester.	Chichester.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Winchester.	Salisbury.	Peterborow.
Cairleill.	Excester.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Davids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Bristow.	S. Alaph.
Lincolne.	Rochester.	

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glasseburie, Abbaddon, Hamfete, Elic, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaye of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well

This forme
very use a tie.

more at their first coming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaye, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Randolph the monke of Chester tellety of generall surueie made in the fourth, sixteenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, surnamed the Bastard, where in it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 towne, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreover that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the coming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu of recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it seemeth by an vnderthirte of Bottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he doth seeme to be. Whotbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find about 17000 towne and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be thoroughly scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened unto our Isle & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the greedy desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselves. And herof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Heracompolis, because it contained an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardly be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decayed in proccesse of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not about 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the same goeth) there haue bene two and fiftie parish churches, and god record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogether to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enemie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and greuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by incroching and joining of house to house, and laicng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogether pulled downe or suffered to decaye by little and little, although sometime a poore man peradventure doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repaire it, suffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie befall withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to keepe a cot: or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrots, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principle pall food, sith they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselves in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Whotbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and heards for poles, or peradventure gardens, as we may see in castell Heddingham,

and diuerse other places. But to proceed.

It is so, that our soile being diuided into champaigne ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vniuersally builded in euery towne together with streets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countrees (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peradventure more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champains, we find not often above fiftie, or three score households, and two or three hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuertheless are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all manner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or three, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so favourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogether, saieing that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggars to the towne, thereby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men see not that they themselves hereby do laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince doth commonlie lose nothing of his duties accustomed to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieing; I am charged already with a light horse, I am to answer in this sort and after that manner. And it is not yet altogether out of knowledge, that where the king had fener pounds thirtene shillings at a task gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households do beare all the aforesaid payment, or else Leland is deceived in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his travel ouer this Ile. A common plague & enomittie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coast. Certes a great number complaine of the increase of pouertie, lateng the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of waies that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men doe see the verie root from whence it doth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they flourished, and therefore prescribed limits to euery mans tenure and occupieng: Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of nine and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of three score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if need requirde) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue bene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the most famous hotaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie boiowes and endowes, nere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in enlarging their revenues, and carnall intent another, appeared herein too much. For being hold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great

great wickednesse, and made those endures little better than bodellhouses, especiallie where nurries were farre off, or else no safe access vnto them. But what doe I spend my time in the rehearfall of these filthineses? Would to God the memorie of them might perishe with the malefactor! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue used according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	Market townes.	Parishes.
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Suffex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

I haue bene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels nere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie: Nevertheless it seemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogether vnnedfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue bene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie I speake not, of Antwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to inuade vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherein they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting thereon, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once god vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vnter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castles at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a breeder of tyrants. Pyrrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentleness. Caietan in his common-wealth hath finalle no liking of them, as appeareth in his eight booke

of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be needfull.

There haue bene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephen, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them listd vpon their owne demesnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploted their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finally when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vnto his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessor had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to raze and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the meeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lordes vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gaine saie manie of those proceedings, which he and his successors from time to time intended. Wherevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be rased and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restrained. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decayed, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselves, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained, within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better keeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repaired most of such as were already standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing taken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieing that the emperour was offended for his diuorice from queene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes niece, and married his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safely to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small speed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and south-east parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceined grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their badde purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done: albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much brieflie for my purpose at this present, for I need not to make anie long discourse of castels,

The best
keepers of
kingdoms.

stels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged by as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he may tra-uaile his ground, chose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduan-tage & commoditie. Iocrates also saith that towres, walles, bulwarkes, soldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the best keepers of kingdomes; but friends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline, which they want that shew themselves either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that goe of Besson castell, how it shall saue all Eng-land on a daie, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftieth yeare of his reigne :

If I were in my castell of Bungeie,

Vpon the water of Wauencie,

I wold wor set a button by the king of Cockneie, I repute them but as toies, the first more vaine, the second fondlie vttered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue bene spo-ken of like bolts (as Wallingford, &c.) but now growen out of memoirie, and with small losse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leicester, also the castells of Trefke and Spalefar, appertaining to Roger Mowbray, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sort take occasi-on to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe o-uer to talke of any such needlesse discourses. This ne-uerthelesse concerning two of them is not to be o-mitted, to wit, that the one nere vnto Cambridg: now Cogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie be-fore time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may easilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be sene in the edge of Shropshire about two miles from Colme, betwene two riuers, the Clun or Co-lunas, and the Teme otherwise named Themis, wherevnto there is no accesse but at one place. The Welshmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caradatus king of the Silures was ouercome there by Modorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for succour, who betrayed him to the Romans, as you may see in Tacitus.

The wan-
dles intime
past were cal-
led windles.

Of palaces belonging to the prince.

Chap. 15.

I lieth not in me to set down exactly the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie description of his graces court, sith my calling is and hath bene such, as that I haue scarcelie presumed to peep in at his gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behauiour is to be sene within them. Yet thus much will I saie generallie of all the houses and honours pertaining to his maiestie,

that they are builded either of square stone or bycke, or else of both. And therunto although their capacitie and hugeness be not so monstrous, as the like of di-uerse foren princes are to be sene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conuenance of offices and lodgings, and excel-lencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workmanship used in this land: but such as he erect-ed after his owne deuise (for he was nothing inferi-our in this trade to Adrian the emperor and Ju-stinian the lastoguer) doe represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that doe come after, to follow in their workes and build-ings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And al-beit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vpperell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre above all the rest. The names of those which came now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserved to his maiesties onelie vse at plea-sure are these: for of such as are giuen awaie I speake not, neither of those that are bitterlie decayed, as Baimards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Baimard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Domemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c: sith I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certaine knowledge. Of such I saie therefore as I erst men-tioned, we haue first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & prin-cipall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the archbi-shops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardi-nall Wolseie, and finally enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By east of this standeth Dur-ham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerfet place I speake not, yet if the first be-ginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the lear-ned and goodlie duke of Summerfet) had liued, I doubt not but it should haue bene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it proued the state of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of Lon-don, which is rather an armorie and house of muni-tion, and therunto a place for the safekeeping of of-fendours, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to sojourn in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therunto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken tharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approached nere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouses in that tract of ground in our times. S. James some-
time a nonrie, was builded also by the same prince. His grace hath also Oteland, Ashridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enueld, Eltham, Langley, Richmond builded by Henrie the fift. Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Wolseie, and finished by his father) and therunto Woodstocke, erected by king S. James, Oteland, Ashridge, Hatfield, Enueld, Richmond, Hampton, Woodstocke, S. James, Henrie

King Hen. 8.
not inferior to
Adrian and
Justinian.

white hall.

Henrie the first, in which the quenes maiestie delighteth greatly to sojourn, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captivity, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windsor.

For strength Windsor or Winsor is supposed to be the chiefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Arviragus, as it is thought, and repaired by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successors haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be empleied vpon the ornature and alteration of the moult, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is moze for pleasure than for either profit or safeguard. Such also hath bene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie bene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assembly, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelye.

Greenwich.

Greenwich was first builded by Humfreis duke of Gloucester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwardes it was greatly enlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finally made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Henry of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford.

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, some fine a manerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was also conuerted by H. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these mozeouer diuerse other. But what shall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quenes maiestie hath: sith all is hers, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreate hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons injured by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court.

The court of England, which necessarily is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the intertainment of such strangers as daile resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall therunto, much lesse one excelling it in anie manner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable parts, of such graue counsellors, and noble personages, as giue their daile attendance vpon the quenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beaultie, or beaultifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betwene whose amiable countenances and costliness of attire, there seemeth to be such a daile conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare alwaies the prebeminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the use and skill of sundrie speeches, beside an excellent beine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersa-

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liues.

tions were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that a nie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Greeke and Latine tonges, are thereto no lesse skillfull in the Spanissh, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it reffecth not in me: sith I am perswaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doe surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which other wise is wanting!

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, whereby our ancient ladies of the court doe shun and auoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or foren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilst the yongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, cytharres, pickelongs, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skillfull in surgerye and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listred to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should seeme to glauie, and currie fauour with some of them.ouertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in something whereby they keepe themselves occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicate dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Dotingall is their chiefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the cleaerke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a trick taken vp of late) to giue in a hysse rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doe call a memoriazl, or ther a billet, but some a fillet, because such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whether am I digressed?

I might finally describe the large allotances of offices, and yearelie liueries, and therunto the great plenty of gold and siluer plate, the severall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantie serving all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyrus, Crelus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Spidas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no moze, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be scene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoling my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the exceeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfully appere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefites.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his spittle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, faith thus: An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, ubi demonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana licet effigie regnant, atque ubi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vspium est perfidie ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclementie, quicquid effrenate superbie, & rapacis auaricie, quicquid obsecne libidinis, fadisima impudicitie, quicquid nefanda impietatis, & morum pessimum, totum illic acernatur cumulatissime, ubi supra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, ubi fastus & tumor, ira, lior, fedaque cupido cum socijs suis imperant, ubi criminum omnium procella, virtutumque omnium inenarrabile naufragium, &c. In such great princes courts (I saie) it is a world to see what lewd behaniour is vsed among thiese of those that resort vnto the same, and what thozedome, swearing, ribaldrie, thessime, dicing, carding, carotwining, drunkennesse, gluttonie, quarrelling, and such like inconueniences do daillie take hold; and sometimes even among those, in whose estates the like behauiour is least conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which say 20 that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes sauing vertue, which in such places doth languish and daillie bade away) all which enormities are either vterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endenour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that fel dome are ante of these things apparantlie scene there, without due reprehension, and such seuerer correction as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to auoid idleness, and preuent sundrie transgressions, otherwile likelie to be committed and done, such 30 order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the booke of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come in to the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schole of the vniuersities, where manie giue care to one that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you con ferre the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take exam ple of hir graces goodlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good begin nings! which if they would, then should manie grie uous offenses (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restrained, which now do reigne ex ce dingle, in most noble and gentlemens houses, wher of they see no paterne within hir graces gates.

Craines of attendants.

I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of serving men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall lueries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleeves, whereby it is known to whome they appertene. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which being filled with them doth yeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the peacocks taile in the full beantie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures. But I passe ouer the rehearfall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I profess to be.

The discipline of firme peace also that is mainte ned within a certeine compasse of the princes pa lace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see daillie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortres ses. And such is the seuerer punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to lose their right hands at a stroke, and that in verie solemne manner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to

deale with other matters.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great barle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the of fender vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circum stance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewile for the time being, doth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, where in the searing irons are to be made readie against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also doth the sergeant or chiefe farour attend with those irons, whose of fice is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he shall be redie by searing to vse the same. The growne of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is fur thermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arime of the offender be bound vp and fullie dres sed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the ser geant surgeon is bound from time to time to be rea die to execute his charge, and seare the rumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewile the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the said partie after the execution done, and the rumpe seared, as the sergeant of the eluerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finallie the maister cocke or his deputie with a sharpe dzeilling knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder, who doth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execu tion be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment ordeined for those that strike within the princes pa lace, or limits of the same. Which should first haue bene executed on sir Edmund Beueit, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further seruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yielded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offender, and publication of the bounti full nature that remained in the prince. The like pri uilege almost is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of punishment great difference do appere. For he that balleth or quarrelleth in either of them, is by and by suspended. Ab ingressu ecclesie, vntill he be absolved: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or laieeth violent hands vpon anie whome so euer. But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arraignment, beside excommunication, he is sure to lose one of his eares without all hope of release. But if he be such a one as hath bene twise condemned and execu ted, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he mar ked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared depe into his flesh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserue to be absolved. To strike a cleark also (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offender not to be absolved but by the prince or his especiall commision. Such also is the generall estate of the excommunicate in euery respect, that he can yeld no testimonie in a nie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargain or sale that he maketh is auailable in law, neither any of his acts that beuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

Striking within the court and palace of the prince.

So. y. an

an outlaw & a man altogether out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of felonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

How well our countrie hath bene furnished in times past with armour and artillery, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make reherfall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leave some manifest notice. Upon the first I need not stand, for few will denie it. For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest pæres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnlie vtter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, because it wanted armour, his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politike lie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacy was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merlie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gracions quene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such speedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was soner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enemies could get vnderstanding of anie such provision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open friends being now become our secret enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might haue bene sore of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrowe at the least wile hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the cheefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in manner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillery, and for long bowes in deed do practise to shot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yeeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enemies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Dutchers deriding our new archerie in respect of their coslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tails and crie; Shote English, and all because our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breach of such a barlet should haue bene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fettered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decayed among vs one waie, so our countrie men were skillfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small pæces, the caluer, and handling of the pike, in the severall uses thereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other na-

tions, and therefore consisteth of coslets, almaine riurcs, shirts of maille, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hit convenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one severall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and woone within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to victual the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finally to see those that are enrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townsmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth three or foure soldiers, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. So there is not so much wanting as their berie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be impossible for the sudden enemie to find vs vnprovided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the muster taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left unbilled and uncalled. What store of munition and armour the quenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yeeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recover the store of ordnance there left and lost: that same is at this time proued false, sith euen some of the same persons do now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordnance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the month.

Falconet weigheth five hundred pounds, and his widenesse is two inches within the month.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the month.

Minion posseth cleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the month.

Sacre hath fiftene hundred pounds, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the month.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the month.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and five inches and an halfe within the month.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the month.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the month.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the month.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the month. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth slee at point blanke, how much ponder is to be had to the same, & finally how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The names of the greatest ordinance.	Weight of the shot.	Scores of carrage.	Pounds of pounder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.	1. li.	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	1
Falconet.	2. li.	14	2	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Falcon.	2. $\frac{1}{2}$.	16	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Minion.	4. $\frac{1}{2}$.	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
Sacre.	5	18	5	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Demie Culuerijn.	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.	18	25	18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Demie canon.	30	38	28	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Canon.	60	20	44	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
E. Canon.	42	20	20	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bafiliske.	60	21	60	8 $\frac{1}{4}$

I might here take full occasion to speake of the
princes armozies. But what shall it need: for the
whole realme is hir armozie, and therefore hir fur-
niture infinit. The Turke had one gun made
by one Džban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance,
which could not be drawn to the siege of Constantinople,
but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men;
he had two other there also whose shot
poised about two talents in weight, made by the
same Džban. But to proceed. As for the armozies
of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a
part) they are so well furnished, that within some
one barons custodie I haue seene three score or a
hundred collets at once, beside caluiers, hand-
guns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bills, pol-
ares, flasks, touchboxes, targets, &c. the verie sight
whereof appalled my courage. What would the wear-
ing of some of them do then (trow you) if I should
be inforced to vse one of them in the field? But
thanks be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no
man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all,
but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a readi-
nesse, and the reſore both high and lowe in Eng-
land

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going
to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne
to do with glittering armour: what sound acquaint-
ance can there be betwixt spurs and the spurs:
or how should a man write anie thing to the pur-
pose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted:
This neuerthelesse will I adde of things at home,
that seldom shall you see anie of my countrymen
aboute eightene or thientie yeres old to go without
a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, al-
though they be aged burgeses or magistrates of a
nic citie, who in apperance are most exempt from
brawling and contention. Our nobilitie weare com-
monlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as
doth euerie common seruing man also that follow-
eth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we
haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two
rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, wherewith
in euerie drunken fraie they are knownen to worke
much mischief: their swords & daggers also are of a
great length, and longer than the like used in anie
other countrie, wherby ech one pretendeth to haue
the more advantage of his enimie. But as manie
orders haue bene taken for the intollerable length
of these weapons; so I see as yet small redresse: but
where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part
I wote not. I might here speake of the excessive
fraues which diuerso that trauell by the waie doe car-
rie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue
or thirtene fote long, beside the pike of twelue in-
ches: but as they are commonlie suspected of ho-
nest men to be thieues and robbers, or at the least
wisse scarce true men which beare them; so by reason
of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest
traueller is now inforced to ride with a case of daga

at his saddle bow, or with some pretie short snapper,
whereby he may deale with them further off in his
owne defense before he come within the danger of
these weapons. If smallie, no man trauellet by the
waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with
vs; except the minister, who commonlie weareth none
at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side.
Seldome also are they or anie other waifaring men
robbed without the consent of the chamberleine,
tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who seeing at
their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be
of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from
their saddles, or otherwise see their store in drawing
of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some
one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or
dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the
pretie be worth the following or no. If it be for their
turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked
which waie he trauellet, and whether it please him
to haue another ghest to beare him companie at
supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning
that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or
be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe
wrought. And often it is seene that the new ghest
shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out
the matter and keepe him from suspicion. Some-
times when they knowe which waie the passen-
ger trauellet, they will either go before and lie in
wait for him, or else come galloping apace after,
wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger,
to be fingerling with his purse. And these are some
of the policies of such thieues or close booted gentle-
men as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies,
and which are most commonlie practised in the win-
ter season about the feast of Christmas, when ser-
uing men and vnchristie gentlemen want monie to
plate at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such
wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till
some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuillances, be
trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto
them commonlie before they come to middle age.
Wherby it appereth that some sort of youth will off
haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

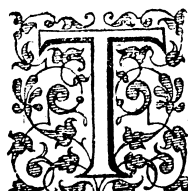
I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare
used in and before the time of Cesar, when as the
cheefe byunt of our sight was in *Effedis* or wagons;
but this I also passe ouer, noting neuerthelesse out
of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous
and gailie painted, which he setteth downe in these
four verſes insuing, *Aretusae ad Lycotam, lib. 4.*

eleg. 3.

*Te modo viderunt iteratos Baetra per ortus,
Te modo munito Sericum hostis equo,
Hibernique Getae, pictoque Britannia curru,
Pisum & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.*

Of the nauic of England.

Chap. 17.



There is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their naues: wherein, whether I consider their speedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of five and sixtie daies? And yet such a naue was to be seene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellus the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare lease & saile within five and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the naue that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and seene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in six weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things both seene to be false and impossible. In like manner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them five rowes of oars on a side, and the Carthaginenses five hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogether correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitie of most of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie contented so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of oars walking on a side? But least I should seeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie both permit without licence to digresse: giue me leave (I beseech the gentle reader) to waide yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present naue in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnplesant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the naue of Ferres, of which ech meane vessel (as appeareth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them three hundred. These were called triremes, and were inderde gallies that had three rowes of oars on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuerfant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, five rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftene rowes of oars on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotile of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Pessichon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Fenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Pessigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomcus Soter of fiftene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Trifon of fiftie: all which about foure were none other (in mine opinion)

than twelue carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vsc in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptol. Philopater builded, containing 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand oars, foure hundred mariners, and three thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessel were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirm the same. I must needs confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheless if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessel is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and bryoke the seas: as might be seene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessel that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building about the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) no; so full of ease within, with time hath ingendred more skill in the wights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The naue of England may be diuided into three sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. Now manie of the first order are maintained within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the naue roiall and common fleet, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certaine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the quenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of those of other countries, and either bolyge them or put them to flight, if they may not bryng them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to bryoke so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is easilie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Greeke word *Almiras* a capitaine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras in *Basilio Macedone* or *Basilio Porphyrogenito*, though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another sort from *Amyras* the Saracen magistrate, or from some french deuotion: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentieth of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or five and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside three gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The description of England.

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The names of so manie ships belong-
ing to hir maiestie as I could come by at
this present.

The Bonadventure.	Fore sight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift lute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Adiates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Rose.	Reuenge.

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the
young daies of the world, and long since framed
themselves to erect euerie yeare a citie in some one
place: or other of their kingdoms (and no small won-
der that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two,
to wit, Anchialus and Tharus in one daie) so hir
grace doth pearlie build one ship: or other to the bet-
ter defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as
of this report I haue no assured certaintie, so it shall
 suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this
I thinke worthy further to be added, that if they
should all be dizenen to service at one instant (which
God forbid) they should haue a power by sea of about
nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable com-
panie, beside the supplie of other vessels appertaining
to hir subjects to furnish by hir volage.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of
whom hereafter as their turnes doe come about, I
will not let to leave some further remembrance. She
hath likewise three notable galleies: the Speed well,
the Erie right, and the Blacke galleie, with the sight
whereof and rest of the name roiall, it is incredible to
saie how greatly hir grace is delighted: and not
without great cause (I saie) sith by their meanes hir
coasts are kept in quiet, and sundrie foren enimies
put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The
number of those that serue for burden with the other,
whereof I haue made mention already, and whose
vse is daillie seene, as occasion serueth, in time of the
warres, is to mee bitterlie vnknowne. Yet if the re-
port of one record be any thing at all to be credited,
there are 135 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen
vnder 100 and aboue fortye 656: hoies 100: but of
hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and crakers, it lieth not
in me to deliuer the inst account, sith they are hard-
lie to come by. Of these also there are some of the
quenes maiesties subjects that haue two or three,
some foure or six, and (as I heard of late) one man
whose name I suppress for modesties sake, hath bene
knowne not long since to haue had sixtene or se-
uentene, and employed them wholie to the waisting
in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped
no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occa-
sion to tell of the notable and difficult volages made
into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their
daillie successe there: but as these things are nothing
incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of
them. Whelie this will I ad, to the end all men
shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of
treasure daillie employed vpon our nauie, how there
are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that
being apparelled and made ready to sale, are not
worth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ou-
cats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold.
What shall we thinke then of the greater, but espe-
ciallie of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessel is
worth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often

told me: It is possible that some couetous person hea-
ring this report, will either not credit it at all, or sup-
pose it to be nothing profitable to the quenes coffers: as a good husband said once
when he hard there should be provision made for ar-
mor, wishing the quenes monie to be rather laid out
to some speedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, be-
cause the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and
so peradventure he thought. But if as by store of ar-
mour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise
vnderstanded that the good keeping of the sea, is the
safeguard of our land, he would haue altered his cen-
sure, and sone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in
times past, when our nation made small account of
navigation, how sone did the Romans, then the
Saxons, & last of all the Danes inuade this Island:
whose crueltie in the end enforced our countreimen,
as it were euen against their wils, to provide for
ships from other places, and build at home of their
owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes dis-
tressed. But most of all were the Normans therein
to be commended. For in a short processe of time af-
ter the conquest of this Island, and good considerati-
on had for the well keeping of the same, they supposed
nothing more commodious for the defense of the
countrie, than the maintenance of a strong nauie,
which they speedilie provided, maintained, and there-
by reaped in the end their wished securitie, where-
with before their times this Island was neuer ac-
quainted. Before the coming of the Romans, I
do not read that we had any ships at all, except a
few made of twicker and couered with buffle hides,
like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this
present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a
little (I wote not well what) difference betwene
them. Of the same also Solinus speaketh, so far as I
remember: neuertheless it may be gathered by his
words, how the vpper parts of them about the wa-
ter onelie were framed of the said twickers, and that
the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went
to the sea in them: but whether it were done for poli-
cie or superstition, as yet I do not read.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we
had some ships also, but as their number and mould
was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was
the first prince that ener throughlie began to know
this necessitie of a nauie, and vse the seruice thereof
in the defense of his countrie. After him also other
princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: endeouored
more and more to store themselves at the full with
ships of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he pro-
vided a nauie of 1600 alias 3600 saile, which he di-
uided into foure parts, and sent them to abide vpon
four sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same
from pirats. Pert vnto him (and worthy to be re-
membred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie
man holding 310 hide lands, should find a ship furni-
shed to serue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I
said before, when all their nauie was at the greatest,
it was not comparable for force and sure building, to
that which afterward the Normans provided: neither
that of the Normans any thing like to the same
that is to be seene now in these our daies. For the
tourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand,
that a well builded vessel will run or saile com-
monlie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles
in a weeke, or peradventure some will go 1200
leagues in six weekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if
their labing be ready against they come thither,
there be of them that will be here, at the west Indies,
& home againe in twelue or thirtene weekes from
Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hun-
dred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall,
as I haue bene informed. This also I vnderstand
by

The Britons fasted all the while they were at the sea in these ships.

by report of some travellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voyage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quincezia and Haiti, and lye betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leagues from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But moze of this elsewhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

There are (as I take it) few great towne in England, that haue not their weeklie markets, one or moze granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for household is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Whereby as it cometh to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the higheſt prices, which commonlie are nere unto great cities, where round and speediest utterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue bene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displeaſe their neighbours for their one peeres dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should be. For in most of these markets neither assise of bread nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but eche one suffered to sell or let up what and how himſelfe liſeth: & this is one euident cause of dearth and scarcitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, ſith it is rare to ſee in anie countrie towne (as I ſaid) the assise of bread well kept according to the ſtatute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honeſt poore man, whome the law of nations doe commend, for that he indouoreth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is diuened aſwaie, and no more to come there vpon ſome round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are ſo nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the ſame, there is ſuch headie ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlie called huffcap, the mad dog, ſather whoſonne, angels ſod, dragons milke, ge by the wall, ſtride wide, and liſt leg, &c. And this is moze to be noted, that when one of late ſell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conſcience, after he had conſidered well of his reachleſſe life, and dangerous eſtate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him ſtraightwaie to the ſtrongest ale, as to the next phyſician. It is incredible to ſaie how our maltbugs lye at this liquor, euen as pigs ſhould lie in a rolb, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie ſtill againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus ſucke their the wolfe or ſhepheards wiſe Lupa, with ſuch eger

and ſharpe deuotion, as theſe men hale at huffcap, till they be red as cockes, & little wiſer than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouſe? In returning therefore vnto my purpoſe, I find that in coine great abuſe is daillie ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, eſpecially the poore artiſicer and houſeholder, which tillith no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a buſhell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: becauſe bodgers, loders, and common carriers of coine doe not onlie buie by all, but giue about the price, to be ſerued of great quantitties. Shall I go anie further? Well I will ſaie yet a little moze, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasſe time poore men muſt make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie by that which the poore bring, vnder pretence of ſed coine, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, becauſe one wheat often ſowen without change of ſeed, will ſome decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowen, promiſing there if they happen to be eſpied (which God wot is verie ſeldome) to ſend ſo much to their next market, to be perſormed I wot not when.

If this ſhift ſerue not (neither doth the for uſe alwaies one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they will compound with ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huffcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon ſome forged ſurmise, which being done, they will ſed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their loſſes, and then if he can doe any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they will giue him ſomewhat for his paines at this time, & reſerue him for another yeare. How manie of the like prouiders ſtumble vpon blind crakes at the ſea coaſt, I wote not well; but that ſome haue ſo done and yet doe vnder other mens wings, the caſe is too plain. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to ſerue a meane gentlemenſ houſe with coine, who hath caſt by all his tillage, becauſe he boaſteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can ſow his land, as the rich graſſer often doth alſo vpon the like deuile, becauſe graſſing requirerh a ſmaller houſehold and leſſe attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a buſhell or two for his expenſes vnto the market croſſe, anſwer is made; forſoth here was one euen now that had me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaie the truth, theſe bodgers are ſaſte chapmen, for there are no moze words with them, but Let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you, knit it up, I will haue it, go carie it to ſuch a chamber, and if you bring in twentie ſome moze in the weeke daie to ſuch an Inne or ſollar where I laie my coine, I will haue it and giue you pence or moze in euery buſhell for ſix weekes day of payment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare aſwaie all, ſo that the poore artiſicer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, ſith they will hardlie now a daies ſell by the buſhell, nor breake their meaſure; and ſo much the rather, for that the buier will loke (as they ſaie) for ſo much ouer meaſure in a buſhell as the bodger will doe in a quarter. Paie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, becauſe he prouideth altogether to ſerue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and inſatiable deſire of gaine, that the ſale will be better in the market: ſo that he muſt giue

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers concerned.

giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie belly. Of the common carriage of coine ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but needs must soine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our friends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countreimen the papists are abundantlie relieved (as the report goeth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for need of monie, being readie peradventure to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of coine in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue thesed little or none of their owne, but bought by of other men, so much as they could come by. Henceforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an hordeload at the most, thereby to be seene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus coine wareth deere, but it will be deerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare ensuing, as men supposing that coine will be little worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certaine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of coine for the yeare following. And our countreimen doe vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Waldoche vpon S. Mattheus daie, and for wheat as it is sold in seed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flie southward in winter, the age of the mone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toies, as by laiens twelue coines vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c. whereby they shew themselves to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie. Herevpon also will they thesed out three parts of the old coine, toward the latter end of the summer, when new cometh space to hand, and cast the same in the fourth bushell, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peradventure till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to see muslie coine in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can keepe it no longer. But as they are enforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somewhat to abate the price, so a plague is not feldome ingendred thereby among the poore sort that of necessitie must buie the same, whereby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not by their graine or wheat in this manner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will seeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their theues by the hand, and stracke it by of new in lesse rowne, so the end it may not onlie seeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the coine that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their owne price, then will they let it by in some friends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be deerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are woorthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eyes that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore

men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with puruelours, who take by eggs, butter, chese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, baken, &c. in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wares to sell the same in another, or to pulsters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonable sold, and therevnto the crosse sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were enforced to bring it to the market townes, & few of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarce two or three pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps five shillings. Whereby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessive: for one of them do comonlie vse to out bid another. And whilst our countreie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is enen inough, & more peradventure than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespass. This moreover is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a severall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaies so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next coming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countreie is greatly charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie freed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vncoscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bonded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent coine vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed recetners thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Whereby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the coine; Thou art woorthie to lose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no coine, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indureth to die and eat by another.

Another thing there is in our markets woorthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recartage of graine from the same into lotts and follars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market

to make sale thereof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set by their corne in houses and chambers, I am perswaded that the prices of our graine would some be abated. Again, if it were enacted that each one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, fouretene, or twentie miles from home to sell his corne, where he doth find the highest price, and thereby leaue his neighbours unfurnished, I do not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. If smallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after harvest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: because each one hideth and howdeth what he may upon purpose either that it will be dearer, or that he shall haue some priuile beine by bodgers, who do accustomable so deale, that the sea doth load awaite no small part thereof into other countries & our enemies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some reme-
die be found. But what do I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheless I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the wake insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lohse faire or the common hirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Enrope, as Sturbridge faire nere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newporth pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their rectall) I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borrowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

In euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, twelue to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh appertene to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimo-
nies lying in or nere vnto the same. I would gladly haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beastes are thought to

counteruaile the prices of their naked carcases, and this is the onelie cause why the grate are lesse esteemed. Here vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the pong rabbits, wherefore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such spædie utterance of rabbits and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe by to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safe-keeping of the fallow deere from ranging about the countrie. Whobest in times past diuerse haue ben fenced in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow deere into this land (as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Caustham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be seene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is doubted of manie whether our buckes or doe are to be reckoned in twio or same beasts or not. Plinie deemeth them to be twio, Marcial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, *Imbelles damus quid nisi praeda sumus?* And so in time past the like controuersie was about bees, which the latwiers call *Ferastit, de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. insit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias interferas & placidas aues.* But whether am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner containe often times a walke of foure or five miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Whereby it is to be seene what store of ground is employed vpon that vaine commodie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie giue alwaies their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fee and parts of the deere giuen vnto the keeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or five shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarcelie equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but maintained onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by selling perrelie hir husbands venison to the cokes (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to see hir butter sold) but not performed without infinite scoffes and moches, even of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to seale his oren, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his wolle vnto the clothier, or to keepe a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or grauers; for which such, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniuallie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselves to husbandrie. And even the same enozmitie take place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the vertie senate, of whome some one had two or three ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them. Liuius also telleth of ano-
ther

illage and
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maimed by
parkes.

The decaye
of the people
is the destruc-
tion of a king-
dome.

ther law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelic of C. J. laminius, that no senator, or he that had bene father to anie senator, should possesse anie ship or vessel aboute the capacite of three hundred amphoras, which was supposed sufficient for the cariage and recarriage of such necessities as should apperteyne unto his house: sith further trading with merchandises and commodities doth declare but a base and concetuous mind, not altogether void of enuie, that anie man should live but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelic would haue it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must needs proue in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enuities are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plenty of corne and cattell scene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and savage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desirous to enlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let daille to take in more, not sparing the verie commons wherupon manie towneships now and then doe live, affirming that we haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng to some do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and utter undoing (they saie) of the common wealth.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie converted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shadows of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likewise hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presently giue a ghesse at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumstance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentieth part of the realme is imployed vpon dære and conies alreadie, which seemeth verie much if it be not duly considered of.

King Henric the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constrained to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiours here at home, perceiving (as it is indeed) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto those that intertaine them, as may cheeke be scene in Valens the emperor, our Clostiger, and no small number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when seauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100000 against the third, and those taken out onelic of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaye, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by laieing house to house, and land to land, whereby manie incursions were converted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Privileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruine of a common wealth, and di-

minution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to live in their best maner, and whatsoever trade they be exercised in, there cometh some privilege or other in the waile, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, whereby they must needs this soile, and seek vnto other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures.

Example of this last I can giue also in bookes, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men strive which of them should do it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to proue that England was neuer lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and united together by other men: it will soon appere, that in some one manour seuentie, eightie, or twentie houses are shunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either utterlie decayed, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saie somewhat: but then I should swaue yet further from my purpose, whereunto I now returne.

We had no parkes left in England at the coming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whilst they lived in the meane time vpon the spoile of their revenues, and dailie ouerthrow to townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that contained not at the least eight or ten hundred acres of families (or as they haue bene alwaies called in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwates) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest peoman.

King John traouelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his returne ouerthrow a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelates of the cleargie. For hearing (as he travelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the cheefe decaye of men, and of tillage in the land, he swore with an oath that he would not suffer wild beasts to feed vpon the fat of his soile, and see the people perishe for want of abilitie to procure and buye them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inueried his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the corne and grasse of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were aliue in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parkes in England than in all Europe (ouer which he travelled in his owne person) and saw how much ground they consume,

The description of England.

I thinke he should either double his ches, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great sort of the m begin now to finell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them do grow to be disparked.

Part of all we haue the franke chafe, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in manner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inclosed with pale, wall, or such like: the chafe alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enueld & Baluerne chafes. And as it is the cause of the feiture of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chafe if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespass, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chafe, parke, or free warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnitate, that is, build stone houses, imbatell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of beere, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrill, thew, or pilloze, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beafts of the chafe were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the martene. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the boze and the wolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in stead of the wolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beaſt commonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chafes haue alwaies bene had, and religiouslie preserved in this Island for the solace of the pince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fenced than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preservation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the daile spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Wimblesfor, Pickering, Feckenham, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingwood, Wence-dale, Clun, Rath, Bedon, Meire, Charlie, Leicester, Le, Kothingham, Sellwood, Flew forrest, Wichwood, Hatfield, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Deke, Deane, Penrife, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chiefe lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Else hath in time past wholie bene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good soth I do not read. This

newerthlesse remaineth yet in name, that the towne of Walden in Essex hath in the limits of the aforesaid countie both take his name thereof. For in the Celtike tong, where with the Saron or Scythian speech both not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called *Walds*, and likewise their *Druides* were named *Waldie* or *Waldie*, because they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the oaks and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of *Wald* and end, as if I should say, The end of the wooddie soile, for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of *Wald* and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences *Wald-dene*, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, *Dene* is the old Saron word for a vale or lowe bottomme, as *Dune* or *Don* is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then *Walden* taketh his name of the wooddie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first derivation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also *Chipping Walden*, of the Saron word *gipping*, which significth *Leaning* or *hanging*, and may verie well be applied thereunto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hills, whereof the lesser runneth quite through the middell of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the *Wald* of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word *Wald*, which now differeth much from *Wold*. For as that significth a wooddie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countie, without anie store of trees, as may be seene in *Cotswold*, *Boxswold*, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to proue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise bene forrest heretofore. Also how *William the Bassard* made a law, that whosoever did take anie wild beaſt within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as *Henrie* the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by *Henrie* the second and his peeres at *Woodstocke*, whereupon great trouble ensued vnder king *John* and *Henrie* the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe already.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (whereof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowledge) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places imperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruities, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breue law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at *Winchester*, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saron tong; *Je will that eue one, &c: I will and grant that eue one shall be worthy of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne see or dominion; but eue man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beaſts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfeit so much as a man may forfeit. Whereto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king *Edward* surnamed the Confessor, & ratified by the *Ballard* in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order, and I attune*

Chipping, of going by to anie place.

as I find it word for word, and which I would gladly have turned into English, if it might have sounded to any benefit of the unskillfull and unlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

Hæc sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, ut cunctis regni nostri Anglia ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & ut omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1 Sint tam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent salvas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regi mei provincia constituti, adiustitiam distribuedam, una cum pœna merita & materijs foreste cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quam Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios foreste appellandos censemus.

2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani vero yooong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.

3 In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo ut tales se intrinseant: mediocresq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.

4 Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum sermilia opera subibunt.

5 Si talis minutus servus fuerit, tam cito quam in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnēq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, unum cum sella, alterum sine sella, unum gladium, quinque lanceas, unum cuspidem, unum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.

7 Mediocrium quilibet unum equum, unam lanceam, unum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.

8 Minorum quilibet, unum lanceam, unam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.

9 Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus provincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forinsecis querelis.

10 Sint mediocrium & minorum causa, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quam civilium per providam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatur & decisa: primariorum vero enormia si que fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

11 Habeant hi quatuor unam regalem potestatem (salva semper nobis nostra presentia) sicut erg, in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, ubi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eantque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi ubi nuda veritas nequit aliter investigari.

12 Liberalis autem homo, i. Pegen, modo criminis non sit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. i. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

13 Si advena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia ut non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti & sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicaverint.

14 Quicūq; eorum primarios homines meos foresta in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halsehang, alias Halsehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.

16 Si aliter iterum peccaverit, reus sit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnaverit, in plio emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidos.

19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio fera regalis mihi emendari solet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pœna & forisfactio non una eadēq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & servi: noti & ignoti: nec una eadēq; erit causarum tum civilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regaliū: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immerito numerabatur: viridis vero (fractione chace nostra regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quod vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc lamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus.

22 Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu siue prahabita voluntate, ita ut cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si servus careat corio.

23 Si vero harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.

24 Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per unum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si vero servus, pro utlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frenleisman vocant.

25 Si vero occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si servus vita.

26 Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feræ occiderint: & si regales restabunt rei regi pro libito suo sine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt alia (præter feræ forestæ) bestia, quæ

Pegened.

Lespegend.
Nunc forte
Hingald.

Ealdermen.

Tineman.

Michni.

Hundred laghe.

Warscot.

Muchehunt.

Ofgangfordell.
Purgatio ignis,
triplex ordinatio.

Pegen.

Forathe.

Halsehang.

Pere & pite.

Gethbrech.

Ealderman.

Staggon or
Stagge.

Frenleisman.

C. j. dum

Rubali olim in
Anglia.

dum inter septa & scopes foresta continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia, quae quaquam infra septa forestae viuunt, & oueri & cura mediocrium subiacent forestae, tamen nequaquam censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccae, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestae nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceae, & mitius emendetur. Aper vero quanquam forestae sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.

Ilices aliquando in Britania
nisi intelligatur de quercu.

28 Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestae nemo manum apponat, quod si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceae.

29 Si quis vero ilicem aut arborē aliquam, quae victum feris suppeditat sciderit, praeter fractionem regalis chaceae, emendet regi viginti solidis.

30 Volo ut omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem suae viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chaceae tamen, & deuitent omnes meam, ubicūq; eam habere voluerit.

Greihsounds.

31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihsounds appellant. Liberali vero, dum genuiscissio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestae licebit, aut sine genuiscissione dum remoti sunt a limitibus forestae per decem miliaria: quando vero propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si vero infra septa forestae reperiatur, dominus canis foris faciet & decem solidos regi.

Ueller
Langeran.
Ramhundert.

32 Veliteres vero quos Langeran appellant, quia manifeste constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuiuslibet licebit sine genuiscissione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundert vocant.

Pretium hominis
mediocris.

33 Quodsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & ubiq; vagantur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendatur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quodsi intra septa forestae reperiatur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quod secundum legem Werinorum. i. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.

Pretium liberi
hominis.

34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiū hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si vero fera regalis morsauerit, reus sit maximi criminis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbaroulie translated by those that toke the same in hand. Wholbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie sort or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.



After such time as Calis was twome from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and there vpon not onlie left off their former painfullnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselves to liue in erreche and vanitie, wherby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiving our sluggishnesse, and espi-

eng that this idleness of ours might rebound to their great profit, forthwith imploied their endeours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idleness. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it mere madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enemies to our owne welfare, as

men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, therewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irkesome contempt of things nere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaite also in this behaffe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no balue, and had euerie trifle and tole in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, untill they also haue waken old, after which they haue bene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall seme & be conuenient for my turne.

I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of some I haue written already else-where sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath bene verie plentifull in this land, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue seene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this land: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countriemen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yerele out of the ground, of seed, haue bene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in proceste of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either unknowne, or supposed as sad more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie returned among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrots, cabbages, nauelues, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as delintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yerele for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboutantlie. Neither do they now state with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the berangeses, mushrooms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Vpon in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being refused, where are anie better to be found: where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them: onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keles in ashyards by themselves, that inconuenience

tiencence in short time will be redressed: Whadder hath growne abundantlie in this Island, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it selfe to proue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our selues to idleness, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with flowers, which Colmella calleth *Terrena sidera*, saleng;

Pingit & in variis terrestria sidera flores,
and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these forty yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghills and laislowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and enlarging the proportion of our flowers, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to doe in manner that they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annual fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Cayobane, Canarie Isles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, because that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odiferous saouours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, because they are his good gifts, and created to doe man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these flowers, which now also doe begin to wax so well acquainted with our soles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions nether hand: insomuch that I haue sene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within forty yeeres passed we had no manner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vles so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits what for vs is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vles of Tobacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacy as they wisse. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to be so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vles accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like manner in sundrie other, as the *salsa parilla*, *Mochoacan*, &c. but I forbeare so to doe, because I couet to be briefe. And truelie the estimation and credit that we yeeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vles of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the inbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie set of the particulars

are thoughtlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vles of our simples here at home doth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet; whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold hono: & haue in reuerence as to their case behoueth. Alas that haue we to doe with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another climate: And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skillfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vles forren wares when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie aboue measure the vles of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it sauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore worthy of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicines, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vles them, but woeke wonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the climate doth shew hir full effect, for whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c. if a Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vles some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are thoughtlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Marcius Cato the learned Roman indeno: to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vles such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could attaine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedly, as would easilie be sene, if those his booke were extant. For the space also of 600 yeeres, the coldest onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoughtlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè nascensia, non enim nobis gignuntur; immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratia emanant, quam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probabimus, ut tanto magis sui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vles of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue bene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practitioners of those partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile because of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacy, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall,

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie vnderstand to search out the vse of such simples as our soyle dooth yeld and bring forth, but also to procure such as growe elsewhere, vpon purpose so to acquaint them with our climate, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, may likewise turne to our benefit and commodity, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I may call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath wonderfullie stirred them vpon this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue travelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come nere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yeeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue any knowledge. And euen like thanks be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriment and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preferred, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their vnto be better knowne than hitherto they haue bene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so dooth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plummies, peares, walnuts, silberds, &c. and those of sundrie sorts, planted within forty yeeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trees are nothing worth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cometrans in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, oranges, and lemons, and heard of wild olives growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither any nation vnder their climate more plentifully indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excellence and vanitie, where with his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoyance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one tree bringeth forth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tastes, dallieng as it were with nature and her course, as if her whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, bereauing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finally induing them with the sauer of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to convert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trees, with other things belonging to their preservation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians do commonly shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me dooth seeme right strange. And euen so do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they

are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preferred from putrefaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yerele taken vp, and either reserved in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and therewith some of them do now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to see, in so much that the apothecaries shops may seeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchen it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie distiller is not without some vse amongst our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to be remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certaine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallye ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old excelled. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had thre score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beleued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, such a one was to be seene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stalk thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole Area thereof little about 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath bene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie nere thre hundred of one sort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuall to be had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Ronesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other appertaining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not seeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.

There is no one commodity in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most simple manner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost any one of our riuers hath such odd and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Virruuius writeth of a well in Babilagonia, whose water seemeth as if it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found in *anno Lucio*, a riuier of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some trauceller or other sleeping for drunkenesse, by drinking of that liquor. There also vnto Cephelus are certaine welles, which taste like sharpe vinegar, and therefore

therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke
and cuill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a
spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water
thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, doth
colour wolle with such a glosse, that the die thereof
contenteth with skarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft
ouercommeth the same. The Cydms in Tarsus of
Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth him-
selfe therein, shall find great ease of the gout that
runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate
Isles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two
springs, one of the which byingeth immoderate
laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sad-
nesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is
taken to be a soueraigne medicine against the other,
to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it.
At Sals in Persia there is a spring, which maketh
him that drinketh dole anie of the water, to cast
all his teeth; but if he onlie wash his mouth withall,
it maketh them fall, & his mouth to be verie health-
full. So there is a river among the Cadarens, wher-
of if a beast drinke, he soon with casteth haise,
and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria,
nere vnto the which there is a kind of gleeuie mat-
ter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap
do light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means wher-
of verie manie do perish and are taken that light
vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof hap-
pen to be set on fire by casuallie or otherwise, it will
neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caie-
tanus doth report. Another at Halicarnassus cal-
led Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effe-
minate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes
it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of
a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but
none can make them effeminate, no; anie other
thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than
superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of lining and
behaviour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4.
All which, with manie other not now comming to
memorie, as the Lethæus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocytus,
&c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them
by the new and ancient wryters, the like wherof are
not to be found in England, which I impute wholie
to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing a-
mongst vs in this our temperate region, but that
which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for
our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters
amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the
benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them
is to be found without his fith: so we know by expe-
rience, that diuerse tarne asch, some other elme, and
eiken shales or poles that lie or are throwne into
them into hard stone, in long continuance of time,
which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this
present wherevpon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read
of diuerse welles, wherevnto our old wryters ascribe
either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one
vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth eue-
rie daie twice a large mile and more; and yet is the
furge of that water alwaies seven foot from the salt
sea: whereby it should seme that the head of the
spring is moueable. But alas I do not casilie be-
lieue it, more than that which is written of the Al-
lingwan lake in Wales, which is nere to the Se-
uerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into his chanel
as it were a gulfie, and yet is neuer full: but when the
sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth by
the water with such violence, that his banks are o-
uerflotone and dyoloned, which is an absurd report.
They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stand
nere to the same, with their faces toward the lake,
in such manner that the bathing of the water might
touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no

power to go from thence, but maingre these resis-
tance be drawne into that gulfie and perishe; whereas
if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should
suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer
so nere. Manie other such like toies I could set
downe of other welles and waters of our countrie.
But whie should I write that for ether men to read,
whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the
report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his
description of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or
Boccatius of the Scaphigolo in the Appenine hills, or
Felix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (wher-
e Jacobus de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Iochimus
Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do also make men-
tion) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie
that anie good man should staine his paper with such
frivolous matters as are reported of them, being de-
vised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the
holding of the ignorant & credulous in their super-
stitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of
Melnesida well, & nothing inferior to that of Per-
curie nere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein such
as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle
the same vpon themselves: and so manie as stood a-
bout them, calling vpon Percurie, and craving par-
don for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of
force vnto forgiveness and remission of their tres-
passes. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who be-
ing a man neither thinking well of their owne gods
nor liking of the augures) doth write in his first *De
legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *asperione aque
labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis prestari*, which
maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it e-
quall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie
be compared. I might further also (if I would) make
relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought ma-
nie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Batolphs
well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falke-
burne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and
sundry other in other places: but as their vertues
are now found out to be but baits to draw men and
women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places
where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposi-
tion of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall
suffice to haue touched them far off. Whie this will
I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto
our sheepe, though it please Cardan to anouch other-
wise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes
of their infections when they drinke, as I elswhere
haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we
haue a spring nere Saffron Walden, and not farre
from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such
force, that it loseth the bodie of him that drinketh
therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie
delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found
by experience. I heare also of two welles nere Lon-
don, of which the one is verie excellent water, the o-
ther will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one
is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and marishes.

Chap. 22.

I should seme by ancient
records, and the testimonie of
sundry authors, that the
whole countreies of A. hogres
and Cambria, now England
and Wales, haue sometimes
bene verie well replenished
with great woods & groues,
although at this time the said commoditie be not a
little decayed in both, and in such wise that a man
shall

Great abun-
dance of wood
sometime in
England.

The description of England.

th all off ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be nere vnto townes, gentlemen's houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, oaks, hawthornes, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarcitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse thereby to come by ground whereon to sow their graine) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattell, doe make small account of firebote and timber: or finally by the crueltie of the enemies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Wherbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, state vpright, and cherish the same in the blistering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yeld their rotes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confess that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, even now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far unlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue seene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of meynages and mansions almost in euery place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of thym, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of fallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigations: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet for the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogether of siraw, which is a fore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to keepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarrhs and poses. Then had we none but reredowles, and oge heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardying for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the godman and his familie from the quacke or pole, wherewith as then verie few were off acquainted.

If the curiosnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of densite in the frames now made, that they far passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Wherby the common saying is likewise in these daies be-

riued in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to see moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable betine in spending of their goods by that trade, doe daile imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding also of their workes, how they set by, how they pull downe, how they intarge, how they restreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their booke of account neuer made perfect.

Destruunt, edificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

saieth the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the odd crotchets in such a builders baine, he would thinke his head to haue euen mough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters, that they haue beside this beine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finally no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, whereby gaime ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plate the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in apparance can seldom shift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forests, and parks, which cherish trees abundantly, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are maintained of purpose for the building and provision of such owners as do possesse the same. Wherbeit as euerie soile doth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, park, hedgerow, groue, or forest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hawthorn, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, soft, quaken aspe, rapiers, wild cherie, and such like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminance, as most meet for building and the nauie, wherunto it is reserved. This tree bringeth forth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell nere vnto the aforesaid places do cherish and bring vp innumerable herds of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our reb and fallow deere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these eggs which these latter do bring forth (beside blackenesse in color and bitternesse of taste) haue not seltdome bene found to breed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in waste by the sadame, as I haue oft seene: but it shall not need at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and upper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinary lights, as with ash, barke, &c. Wherby as I grant that it seemeth outwardlie to be verie chicke & well done: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Generallie we haue god lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cometh to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute

Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & overthroweth a manlie courage.

The like bene I seene where hens doe feed vpon the turner blacke of garlike.

in law against the offenders is somewhat too charge-
able and tedious. This therefore perceived, they give
over the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and re-
wards to winke at things past, and when they have
once gone over their ground with this kind of tit-
lage, then doe they tender licences, and offer large
dispensations unto him that shall aske the same,
thereby to doe what him listeth in his trade for an
yearelie pension, whereby the bybour now groweth
to some certaine revenues, & the tanner to so great li-
bertye that his lether is much worse than before. But
is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illu-
sion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll : Of
all oke growing in England the parke oke is the soft-
test, and far more spale and bricke than the hedge
oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Bardfield
parke is the finest for joiners craft : for oftentimes
haue I seene of their workes made of that oke so fine
and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hi-
ther out of Denke, for our wainescot is not made in
England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without
okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they
haue hoped, because the ab or iuice will not so soone
be remoued and cleane drowne out, which some at-
tribute to want of time in the salt water. Fewer the-
lesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke
go all one waie, and neuer so much hath bene spent
in a hundred years before as is in ten yeare of our
time; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that
hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer
so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe
the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp
a new after his owne deuise. But whereunto will
this curiositie come :

Of elme we haue great store in euerie high waie
and elsewhere, yet haue I not seene thereof anie to-
gether in woods or forrests, but where they haue bene
first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne
willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech
and hawell in manie places, especiallie in Barke-
shire, Derbyshire, and Buckinghamshire, where
they are greatly cherished, & conuerted to sundrie vs-
es by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that
euer I saw, those in the south side of Dover court,
in Essex nere Harwich are the most notable, for they
grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are al-
most apt for nothing else but naute timber, great or-
dinance, and bettels : and such thereto is their natu-
rall qualitie, that being used in the said behalfe, they
continue longer, and more long than anie the like
trees in whatsoeuer parcell else of this land, without
cuphar, shaking, or cleauing, as I find.

As commonly by euerie where of it selfe, and with
euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great
plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so
are we not without the plane, the bgh, the soye, the
chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like.
And although that we intoy them not in so great
plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the
other afore remembred : yet haue we sufficient of
them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especial-
lie of bgh ; as may be seene betwixt Rotheram and
Sheffield, and some steds of Kent also, as I haue
bene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doe not alto-
gether want, especiallie the firre, whereof we haue
some store in Chatle more in Darbishire, Shrop-
shire, Andernesse, and a mosse nere Manchester, not
far from Liffcesters house : although that in time
past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part
of the coast betwene Chester and the Solme were
well stored. As for the frankincense and pine, they
haue bene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters,
by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Therefore

(in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want
them altogether : for except they grew naturalie,
and not by force, I see no cause why they should be
accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue
also the aspe, whereof our fletcherers make their ar-
rowes. The seuerall kinds of poplars of our turners
haue great vse for bolles, treices, troughs, dishes, &c.
Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die
blacke withall, and therefore much used by our coun-
trie wiues in colouring their knit hosen. I might
here take occasion to speake of the great sales yeare-
lie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath
bin destroyed within these few years : but I give ouer
to trauell in this behalfe. Whobest thus much I dare
affirme, that if woods go so fast to decarie in the
next hundred yeare of Grace, as they haue done and
are like to doe in this, sometimes for increase of theyp-
walks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and
pompe (for I haue knowne a well burnished gerv
tlemant that hath borne threescore at once in one
paire of gallgascos to shew his strength and braue-
rie) it is to be feared that the femite bote, byome,
turke, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dics,
hassacks, flags, stratu, sedge, reed, rush, and also sea-
cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of
London, whereunto some of them euen now haue
gotten readie passage, and taken by their innes in
the greatest merchants parlours. A man would
thinke that our lawes were able enough to make suf-
ficient prouision for the redresse of this error : enor-
mitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our
countrymen, that as manie lawes are made, so they
will keepe none; or if they be vzed to make answer,
they will rather seeke some crooked construction of
them to the increase of their priuat gain, than yeld
themselves to be guided by the same for a common
wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end
whatsoeuer the law saith we will haue our willes,
whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are
contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & counsellors
as it were derided, the common wealth impouer-
shed, & a few onelie enriched by this peruerse dealing.
Thus manie thousand persons doe suffer hinderance
by this their leind behauior. Whereby the wholesome
lawes of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good
meaning magistrate in consultation about the com-
mon wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wish that I
might liue no longer than to see foure things in this
land reformed, that is : the want of discipline in the
church : the couetous dealing of most of our mer-
chants in the preferment of the commodities of o-
ther countries, and hinderance of their owne : the
holding of faires and markets vpon the sundays to be
abolished and referred to the Wednesdayes : and that
euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine
soile enioieth fortye acres of land, and vponwards, after
that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme,
might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with
oke mast, hawell, beech, and sufficient prouision be
made that it may be cherished and kept. Wist I feare
me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that
I should either be wearie of the world, or the world
of me; and yet they are not such things but they may
easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is e-
nough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie triffe
sufficieth to late infinit acres of coyne ground vnto
pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small
fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God
we might once take example of the Romans, who in
restraint of superfluous grasing, made an exact li-
mitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might
keepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for
that and other purposes. Neither was wood enter
better

* This gen-
tleman caught
such an heate
with this force
load that he
was faine to
go to Rome
for physike,
yet it could
not fauchus
life, but he
must needs
die home-
wards.

better cherished in mansion houses maintained, than by their labours and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of navigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, to see to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his covetous mind might proue a prejudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stoffe for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like heretofore is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praise you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it over, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what doe I meane to speake of these, with my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods. Well, take this then for a small conclusion in woods, that beside some countreies are alreadye driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an braue report: within these forty yeres we shall haue little great timber growing aboute forty yeres old; for it is commonlie seene that those young staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marishes and
fennes.

Marishes and fenue dogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doe specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the severall quantities of the countreies. Whoeuer it as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and nere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie mores, that in times past they haue bene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the trial (beside the rots that are daile found in the depes of Donmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Wertoneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of furre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marishes with long spits, which they dath here and there by to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie furre trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blacks, they note the place, and about harvest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them by, and afterward caring them home, applie them to their bles. He like doe they in Shropshire with the like, which hath bene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noes flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to growe euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lancashire and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled, or ouergrown vpon sundrie occasions, was left lying in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due substance, are now turned into moyle plots. Wherby it cometh to passe also, that great plentie of water cometh betwene the newe lowe swart and the old hard earth, that being driuen awaie by ditching and dykes (a thing some doe if our countrey-men were painfull in that behalfe) might some leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and advantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincoln was sometime builded by Lind brother

to Cassibelan, who called it Castrum Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is utterly decayed there, so that if Lud were alieue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogether about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Wycoit, that is, the woddie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be seene in those places, let him that hath bene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath bene in time past by those that trauch that waie. And thus much of woods and marishes, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.



Almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Wallietwell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the same of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is nere vnto Burton, a towne in Warbithshire, situated in the high Peke, not passing stricene miles from Manchester, or Sparkeshesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine severall welles are to be seene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hottest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summerfetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if foue quartes of running water were added thereto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Whereupon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it doeth more effectualle and commodiouslie than those in Summerfetshire, and infer withall lesse greivous accidents in the restraining of naturall issues, strengthening the affected members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoyous opilations, and qualifying of sundrie gricfes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceived. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Pelwnam, and within certene miles of Conetric, the water whereof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue bene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a taste much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing displeasing nor vnpleasant in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without

anie

any notable diminution of the spring is daily carried into sundrie parties of the realme, & dronke by such as haue need to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clefied daily as the other is, whereby it becometh the wholesomer. Spasme diseases also are cured in the same, as the palse, dimneste of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collicke and the stone, old sores and greene wounds; so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more speedie force in these behalfes, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as doo frequent it. The said water hath a naturall propriete also following it which is rare, for if a lease, or sticke of ash, oke, &c. do fall into the same, within a short space, such stoe of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue seene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermoze remembred of it, that no man hath yet suffeined anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitsuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to go home and seeke for helpe by surgerie: finally finding the paine well allwaged, & the wound faire clefied, he departed, and mistaking his vsuall medicines, he effones came againe, and so often indeed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fallie equal, and the resort vnto them nothing inferi- or to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much moze speedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fifth place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called *Netuton*, a little from saint *Peots*, or (as we pronounce it) saint *Peeds*, which is ten or twelue miles from *Cambridge*, where two springs are knotone to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dimneste of sight. Herie manie also do make their repaire vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, because their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Fewer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these welles, and those nere *Wugbie*, both places being discovered in this 1579 of *Grace*. I heare of another well to be found also about *Watcliffe* nere *London*, even at the same season. But sith rumors are now spread almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales lie about in manner of euerie water, I surceale to speake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these already mentioned haue heretofore bin knotone & remembred also, though confuted by the writers of old time; & yet in procelle of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by *Danes*, and other outward enemies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie bene misse.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in *Summersetshire*, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be seene and bled. At the first it was called *Cair Bledub*, and not *Cair Bledune*, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at *Spalmeburie*, which the *Sarons* named *Pngleburne*. *Ptolomie* after ward called it *Therma*, other *Aqua solis*, or *Scamannia*, or *Acmancester*, but now it hight generallie *Bath* in *English*, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be seene in the wals thereof; and first of all betwene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of *Antius the Romane*. The second betwene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of *Hercules*, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so doth this. Thirddie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of *Alcimedon*. There are mozeouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceh the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffled haire, a gretehound running, and at his talle certeine *Romane* letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is mozeouer the image of *Lacaon*, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these betwene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Now, betwene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath *Cupidines & Iuliuscas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image bined and finelie stoned both aboue and beneath. Finally (saying that I saw after ward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a tome or buriell, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but so defusedlie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed after ward in those wals, in their necessarie reparations. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that *Bladud* first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kinde the sulphurous beines, of purpose to burne continually there in the honour of *Minerua*: by which occasion the springs thereabout did in procelle of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that *Minerua* was the cheefe goddess and gouernesse of these waters, because of the nerenesse of hir temple vnto the same. *Solinus* addeth furthermoze, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continually kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so sone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous beine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters do come. That these baths or waters are derived from such, the *marshalites*, which the *Grecians* call *Pyritis*, per *Antonomasium* (for being knit with the iron, it yeldeth moze sparkes than anie sint or calce-donie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name *Pyrit* house the rest) and besides these other stones mixed with some copper, and daily found vpon the mountains

Chap. 15.

The *Pyritis* is found almost in euerie beine of metall in great plenty, diuersities and colour, and sometimes mixed with that metall of whose excrements it consisteth.

teins

teins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physike, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs do drawe their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he guesseth that it should be salt pect, because he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dying date be induced to beleue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottom, inironed on euerie side with great hills, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentiful and lesse of value vnto them, because it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolved, and their founders, if place did serue thereto: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselves, wherof in the title of this chapter I protested to intreat.

Crosse bath,

There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, wherof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middell thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leprosie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath,

The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred fot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and toine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house nere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Kings bath,

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathed: all church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the byms thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, do resort thither indifferently, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, wherof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluice out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I do not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Colour of the water of the baths.
Taste of the water.

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a deepe blew, and taketh much after the maner of a seething pot, commonlie peibding somewhat a sulphurous taste, and verie vnpleasant savour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into

Auon about Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the these baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrance into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high none, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruente, and become so hot that no man is able to endure their heat, or anie while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselves furthermore from all such filth as the diseased do leaue in each of them, wherfore we do forebeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more greivously affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in deed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therfore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the keeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) free passage vnto such as come vnto them. Whitherto Leland.

Fall of issue of the water.

Hot good to enter into baths at all seasons

What cost of late hath bene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, commonaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repaired and garnished with sundrie curious pices of workmanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, cleaner kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as daillie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilist they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrees. But where shall a man find anie equal regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue these his good gifts frellie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians daillie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to intertaine them) doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither do drinke oftentimes of that medicinable liquoz: but then I should exceed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it over to others, hoping that some man yet long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous cleark Doctor Turner hath blessely yet happlie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I do not know of manie that haue travelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

Having taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselves, wherby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this land

land maie in some cases moze manifestlie appeare. For such was their possession of this land on this side of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their subiection, but all the whole countrie from east to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithstanding that untill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Lud and Cimbeline to reigne and rule amongst them, though vnder a certaine tribute, as else where I haue declared. The chiefe cause that brygeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them together, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraictures of euerie emperor ingrauen in the same: also the faces of Pompeie, Crassus, the seuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerse other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of sundrie philosophers, and kings of this land, since the time of Edward the Confessor. Whereof although presentlie I want a few, yet I do not doubt but to obtaine them all, if friendship at the least will procure for monie shall be able to procure. But as it hath done hitherto, so the charges to be employed vpon these brasse or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall some proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Whereof yet I force not greatly, sith by this means I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister stoze of examples readie to be vsed in my function, as occasion shall moue me. But to proceed with my purpose.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Caesar confesseth in the first booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certaine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I saie) to haue the certaine view of any of these, so after the comming of the Romans, they enforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue such imperiall monies or coines, as for the payment of their legions was daily brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in many places of this land, as well of gold and siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like Steele, almost of euerie emperor. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it still represent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yeeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the stoze of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue already made mention in the description of Richborough, and chapter of Isles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to be ad in, haue scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. If speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coines haue bene gathered there: wherefore I shall not need here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certaine, that the most part of all these antiquities, to be found within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decayed, or in inclosed burrowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is daily confirmed. What

stoze hath bene seene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that souldred there, & likewise in Pozke named also Alaric, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (because of the beautie and fine building of the same) I my selfe can partly witness, that haue seene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Vespasian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredeschester (now decayed) Rochester, then called Durobreutum, Winchester, and diuerse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I do passe ouer in silence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where most are found in ded, is nere vnto Carleon and Caerwent in Southwales, about Kenchester, three miles aboue Hereford, Aldborough, Ancaster, Ramdon, Dodington, where a spurre and peece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eighth his daies, besides much of the said Roman coine, Winchester, Calmalet, Lacoche vpon Aton, and Lincoln, Dorchester, Warwicke, and Chester, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It seemeth that Ancaster hath bene a great thing, for manie square & colored pavements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same. And amongst these, one Tresbie or Kosebie, a plowman, did ere by not long since a stone like a trough, covered with another stone, wherein was great foison of the aforesaid coines. The like also was seene not yet forty yeares agoe about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eighth his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleston, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richly fretted with pearle, and set with all kind of collied stones: he took by also chaines much like vnto beads of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might ghesse any certaintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he presented to quene Katharine then lieng at Peterborough, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agoe, though so defaced with mouldynesse, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into peeces, much lesse read them by reason of their blindness.

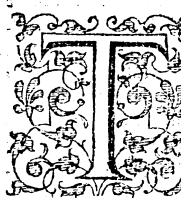
In the beginning of the same kings daies also at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harnessed with pure gold, and a great masse of pommel with a crosse hilt for a sword of the same mettall, beside studs and harnesse for spurs, and the huge long spurs of like stiffe, whereof one doctor Kuthall got a part into his hands. The boroughes or buries, whereof I spake before, were certaine plots of ground, wherein the Roman souldiers did vse to lie when they kept in the open fields as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie access vnto their aduersaries, if any outrage were wrought or rebellion moued against them. And as these were the small abodes for those able legions that serued daily in the wars, so had they other certaine habitations for the old and forwoyne souldiers, whereby diuerse cities grew in time to be replenished with Roman colonies, as Carleon, Colchester, Chester, and such other, of which, Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddess of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram sempiternae dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our British seruitude. But to returne vnto our boroughes, they were generallie walled about with stone walls, and so large in compasse that some did containe thirtie, fourtie, three score, or eightie acres of ground within

within these limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Essex, nere to the limits of Cambridgeshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the vertic wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be seene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Bozow hills. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Euolburg, now S. Peots, or S. Peeds, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Kie, Komnele, &c. is much of their coine also to be found, and some peces of other are dallie taken vp, which they call Bozow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegg pence, Feltrie groats, Felwes monie, & by other foolish names not worthy to be remembered. At the coming of the Sarons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enemies were abroad; the like also did the Sarons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carting of their bones to helpe forward other buildings nere at hand) manie of them were throtone doونه and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenes and maner of building of those said walls and bowes. It is not long since a silver saucer of verie ancient making was found nere to Shafton Walden, in the open field among the Saterbirie hills, and eared by by a plough, but of such masse greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie pences, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things untill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonte of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore so much onelie shall serue the turne for this time as I haue said already of antiquities found within our Island, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chiefelie to intreat.

Saterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.



The Saron coine before the conquest is in maner utterly vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of silver in those daies did counterpoise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arosc to twentie pence, and so continued untill the time of king Henrie the eighth, who first brought it to three shillings and foure pence, & afterward our silver coine vnto halfe & copper monies, by reason of those incalculable charges, which diuerse waies oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine *solidus*, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Sarons of our Ile, so well in gold as in silver, at such time as 240 of these penies made vp a full pound, five pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpose. After the death of B. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine silver: so quene Marie his succellour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in his time the Spanissh monie was verie comon in Eng-

Copper monie.

land, by reason of his marriage with Philip King of Spaine.

After his decease the ladie Elizabeth his sister, and now our most gracious quene, fourreigne and princeesse, did finish the matter wholely, utterly abolishing the vse of copper and brassen coine, and converting the same into guns and great ordnance, she restored sundrie coines of fine silver, as peces of halfe penie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of six pence usually named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted his owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or bene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his deceasse, without anie abasing or diminution of the finenes of that metall. There of also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angel, and their smaller peces, as halfe or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be seene. I haue also beheld the fourreigne of twentie shillings, and the peece of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of peces of fortie shillings, three pounds, six pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow vnto their maiesties thought god in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisite that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finenes of the metall began to be verie much alaid, & is not likelie to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath bene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferior to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather by our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifulle seene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the payments which they dallie make in those kinds of our coine. Our peces now currant are of ten shillings, five shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe fourreigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much silver) quarters of fourreigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in god sooth I know them not, as one carselie acquainted with any silver at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any sorte of gold.

The first currant shilling or silver peece of twelue pence stamped within memorie, were coined by B. Henrie the eight in the twentieth yeare of his reigne, & those of five shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the first: but the old peces aboue remembered vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeesse quene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest silver monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discourse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eighth yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest peces of silver roundwise, which before were square, and wont to beare a double crosse with a cress, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfe or quarters: by which first onelie the people came

Silver monies.

Old gold.

New gold.

came by small monies, as halfe pence and farthings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the host: the portigue, a peece verie solemnely kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutely counterfeited: and finally the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of silver coines, as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke doth two shillings, and three franke the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalbers, and such often times brought ouer, but neuerthelesse exchanged as bullion, according to their finenesse and weight, and afterward converted into coine, by such as haue authority.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbates and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Hamelie, St. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glasseburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplificats of the grants thereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselves best with the oversight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small peeces of silver vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Wilsow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continually holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden

yearelie at two severall times, that is to saie, Epiphany and Michaelmas in the west countie; which at the first hearing I supposed to haue bene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towne of Bailestone, Torrie, and Lostwithell. Whereto, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe; whereby it is knowen that the custome due for the same hath ordinarily bene answered. It should seme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were usually crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in clearing of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie godlie buildings that haue bene ripped vp by plovers, and diuerse coines of brasse, silver, and gold, with Roman letters in painted pots found there) in the bases of cardinall Wolseie, one such huge pot was discovered full as it were of new silver lately coined; another with plates of silver ready to be coined; and the third with chaines of silver and such broken stuffe ready (as it should appere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my conjecture. Of coines currant before the coming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Islanders of Scyllia, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Serians, Sarmatians, Indians, and Celences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons used brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certaine proportion, in stead of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achaii (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peeces of brasse and iron in stead of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.



The contents of the third booke.

- | | | | |
|---|---|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Of cattell kept for profit. | | thereof. |
| 2 | Of wild and tame foules. | 9 | Of quarries of stone for building. |
| 3 | Of fish vsuallie taken vp on our coasts. | 10 | Of fundrie minerals. |
| 4 | Of sauage beasts and vermines. | 11 | Of mettals to be had in our land. |
| 5 | Of hawkes and rauinous foules. | 12 | Of pretious stones. |
| 6 | Of venemous beasts. | 13 | Of salt made in England. |
| 7 | Of our English dogs and their qualities. | 14 | Of our accompt of time and hir parts. |
| 8 | Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof. | 15 | Of principall faires and markets. |
| | | 16 | Of our innes and thorowfares. |

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. I.

There is no kind of tame cattell vsuallie to be seene in these parts of the world, whereof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horses, oxen, sheepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be

proued with ease. For there are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horses more decent and pleasant in pale, kine more commodious for the pale, sheepe more profitable for wool, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England. But to speke of them peculiarly, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yeld of milke, whereof we make our butter & cheese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horses or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they seme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a cow (all charges bozne) hath bene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is inhauced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground arise to be yet dèrer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwickshire, belonging to Thomas Wuer of Studlete, which in six yeeres had sixtē calves, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twisse twins, which unto manie may seeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oren are such as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and sweetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Roman wilters haue preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our grassers are now grown to be so cunning, that if they do but see an or or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a ghesse at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may live by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such grassers also are reported to ride with velvet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oren and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in young ware rather by weight, especiallie for the skere and heigher, sith the finer beefe is the lightest, whereas the flesh of buls and old kine, &c. is of sadder substance and therefore much heavier as it lieth in the scale. Their hoznes also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except those which are to be seene among the Præones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our bred generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie young, manie grassers will oftentimes anoint their budding hoznes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and therelie maketh them to grow unto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to see oren whose hoznes haue the length of a yard or three foot betwene the tips, and they themselves thereto so tall, as the height of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarce equall unto them. Neuerthelesse it is much to be lamented that our generall bred of cattell is not better looked unto: for the greatest occupiers weane least stoe, because they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a piece, as I heare they do in other countries.

Our hoznes moreover are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pale, it is hard to saie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yield no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserved for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough hozses (for we vse them indifferentlie) are commonlie so strong that five or six of them (at the most) will draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long tourneie, although it be not a load of common vslage, which consisteth onlie of two thousand, or six

tie sot of timber, fortye bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or five quarters of wheat, experience daile teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This further more is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it cometh to passe, that when the quenes maiestie doth remove from anie one place to another, there are usuallye 400 carewarres, which amount to the summe of 2400 hozses, appointed out of the countreies adjoining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Herby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter hozses is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresse to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie dère among vs, especiallie if they be well coloured, lustie limbeck, and haue thereto an easie ambling pace. For our countriemen, seeking their ease in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chiefe in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto hozses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backs: it is moreover verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pale doth yield comfortable sound as he traueleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceit vnto anie where than among our hozsekeepers, hozsecorsers, and hostellers: for such is the subtil kinaverie of a great sort of them (without exceptiō of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceived by some false trickes or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of hozses and colts is bought and sold, and whereunto such as haue need resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Hippon, Spetport pond, Wolspit, Warbozot, and diuerse other. But as most buyers are verie diligent to bring great stoe of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too lech in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them loke faire to the eye, when they come within two daies tourneie of the market, to drue them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelue hozres, which being done they turne them all over the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes do fall into manie diseases and malables. Of such onslandish hozses as are daile brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scottish nag, because that further speech of them cometh not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose bred and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) King Henrie the eight created a noble studerie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waring wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his god purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best hozses in England, and written of the manner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Bells in Syria, where in the king of that nation had usuallye a studerie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo doth remember lib. 16. But to leaue this, let vs see what may be said of these.

Our shepe are verie excellent, sith for sweetnesse of

Oren.

Athenæus lib.
10, cap. 8.

Hozses.

of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our
woolles to be preferred before those of Spaine and o-
ther places, that if Jason had knowne the value of
them that are bred, and to be had in Brittain, he
would neuer have gone to Colchis, to looke for anie
there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his
De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable
to the spiders web. What soles then are our countri-
men, in that they seeke to bereue themselves of this
commoditie, by practising daile how to transfer the
same to other nations, in carieing ouer their rams
& ewes to beed & increase among them? The first ex-
ample herof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth,
who not vnderstanding the bottom of the state of sun-
drye traitorous merchants, that sought a present
gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their coun-
trie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of
them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few
shipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practised in
other commodites also, whereby the prince and his
land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is
our nature, and so blind are we in deed, that we see no
inconuenience before we seele it; and for a present
gaine we regard not what damage may insue to our
posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the
desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and
to impech our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth,
that curie trafic which commeth from beyond the
sea, though it be not worth thre pence, is more effe-
med than a continuall commoditie at home with vs,
which far exceedeth that value. In time past the vse of
this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth
and woollens: but now by meanes of strangers suc-
coured here from domestickall persecution, the same
hath bene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mo-
kados, bates, bellures, grograines, &c: whereby the
makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is
farthermore to be noted, for the low countries of
Belgie know it, and daile experience (notwithstan-
ding the sharpnesse of our lawes to the contrarie)
doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & wea-
thers do go thither from vs neuer so well headed ac-
cording to their kind: yet after they haue remained
there a while, they cast there their heads, and from
thenceforth they remaine polled without any homes
at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished
in England, than standeth well with the commoditie
of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse towncs,
whereof some are wholie conuerted to their feeding:
yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fleece, such ne-
cessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the ma-
nuring of barren soile with their dung and pisse, that
their superfluous numbers are the better borne with
all. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I
speake not of our great shepemaisters of whom some
one man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this
cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds,
which yeld the finer fleece, as Virgil (following Var-
ro) well exprest Georg. 3. where he saith:

*Si tibi lanicium curæ, primum a fœra sylvæ,
Lappæque tribulique absint, fuge pabula læta.*

For the lesse the shepe of our countrie are often
troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the mra-
sels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are
now and then great losers by the same: but after the
calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and keepe their
new stocks sound for seauen yeares together, the for-
mer losse will easilie be recompensed with double
commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are
hurtfull to our shepe, howbeit this is but his conie-
cture: for we know that our shepe are infected by go-
ing to the water, and take the same as a sure and cer-
teine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their
liuers and lights being alredie discompered through

excessive heat, which inforceeth them the rather to seeke
vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the
maine, wherein a man shall generallie find more fine
and wholesome water than in England; and therefore
it is impossible that our shepe should decaie by ta-
sting of the same. Wherefore the hinderance by rot is
rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonableness & moi-
sture of the weather in summer, also their licking in
of mildewes, gossmire, rotuie fogs, & ranke grasse,
full of superfluous iuice: but spectallie (I saie) to euery
moist wetter, whereby the continuall raine pearcing
into their hollow felles, sokeeth forthwith into their
flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also
infected their first shew of sicknesse is their desire to
drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them *Causa
egritudinis*, but *signum morbi*, that so euery Cardan do
mainteine to the contrarie. There are (peraduen-
ture no small babes) which are growne to be so good
husbands, that they can make account of curie ten
kine to be cleavelie worth twentie pounds in comon
and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fine shepe be
daile added to the same. But as I wrote yett how
true this surmise is, because it is no part of my trade,
so I am sure hercof, that some housewives, and
do ad daile a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the
cheese of so manie kine, whereby their cheese doth the
longer abide moist, and eateth more byickle and mel-
low than otherwise it would.

Goats we haue plentie, and of sundrie colours
in the west parts of England; spectallie in and to-
wards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by
whome the owners do reape no small aduantage:
some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse steads
for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie
maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, cheese,
and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profit-
table, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and
nere. Certes I find among the writers, that the
milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the
woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth op-
pilations and stoppings of the liuer, and loseth the
bellic. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the
ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hercof I can
shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke
is fullome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are
bred vnto it no man will gladlie yeld to liue and feed
withall.

As for swine, there is no place that hath greater
store, nor more wholesome in eating, than are these
here in England, which neuer the lesse do neuer ante
good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat
graine for porke, and other dried vp into bacon to
haue it of more continuance. And we make some
though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither
haue we such vse thereof as is to be seene in France
and other countries, lith we do either bake our meat
with sweetenet of beefe or mutton, and bast all our
meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattest to
bast it selfe by lesure. In champaine countries they
are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to at-
tend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth
them togither by his noisse and crie, and leadeeth them
forth to feed abroad in the fields. In some places al-
so women do scowze and wet their cloths with their
dung, as other do with hemlocks and nettles: but
such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I
cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than
such as are scowzed with the refuse sope, than the
which (in mine opinion) there is none more unkindlie
sauor.

Of our tame bores we make bratune, which is a
kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as
I take it) otherwise would not the swart Butters
and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they
found

Shepe with-
out homes.

Goats.

Swine.

Bores.

U.

found

The description of England.

found great store of this prouision almost in euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to roast, bake, broyle, & frye the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreover, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hoghead of bzaune readie sowled to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, referred it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Whereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare ensuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue bene fleshy, he would not haue touched it (I dare sale) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A friend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, having certeine Jewes at his table, did set bzaune before them, wherof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the Goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, bled them home in hast, each of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oyle, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clenched their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of seruice at the table, from Nouember untill februarye be ended; but chiefe in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners each date after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of maluesie, bassard, or muscadell, is vsuallie dronke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwile the manner sozt content themselves with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indeed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame boze, set by for the purpose by the space of a whole yeare or two, especiallie in gentlemen's houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse about thye or foure moneths, or halfe a yeare at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an breaste coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our bzaune made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of soltse onelie, and is commonlie reserved for the seruing man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part thereof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first bzaune with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowled in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in stead of the wild boze, and trulie it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged by a while to drie before they be bzaune with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our bzaune. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of bzaune, the shoulders are named shilds, onelie the ribs retein the former denomination, so that these aforesaid peeces deserue the name of bzaune: the bowels of the beast are commonlie cast awaie because of their ranknesse, and so were likewise his stones; till a folish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bying them to the board as a seruice among other of like sozt, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshly lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the boze is thus cut out, each peece is wypped by, either with bulrushes, or

Bzaune of
the boze.

Baked hog.

pees, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron together, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a brused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it by, and late it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they potize either good small ale or bere mingled with beruice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sowling drinke least it should war sozt) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make bzaune of great barrow hogs, and seeth them, and sowle the whole, as they do that of the boze; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. Wat of bzaune thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

Wher requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the sunne, which hath already in the time of the yeare more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Island doth bying forth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous fowlers, which set onlie for the pot & parke. Certes this enormitie byed grea trouble in King Johns dales, in somuch that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherfore being at Bristow in the Christmasse ensuing, he restrained all manner of hauking or taking of wild foule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was thoroughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are byed in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bussard, the heron, curlew, snite, wildgoose, wind or dotterell, bzant, lark, plouer of both sozts, lapwing, teal, wiggeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoueler, pelwet, seamew, barnacle, quail (who onelie with man are subiect to the falling sickenesse) the notte, the olist or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partridge and seafant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are bitterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their fleshy; wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their generall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie should seeme at anie time furnished. But of all these the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Wyndades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the same nether home, and not onelie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but even in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much unlike vnto them haue byed of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as oportunitie serue, and the circumstances do minister occasion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet such a thing hath there bene seene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shub standing nere vnto the shoze, from whence when

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their time came, they fell downe, either into the salt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and perished, as Pena the French herbarian hath also noted in the berie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue seene here by experience, I haue alreadie so touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it should be but time spent in vaine to repeat it here againe. I looke therefore in the description of Span or Spanato for more of these barnacles, as also in the eleuenth chapter of the description of Scotland, & I do not doubt but you shall in some respect be satisfied in the generation of these foules. As for egrets, palupers, and such like, they are daily brought vnto vs from beyond the sea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not suffice to satisfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are such (for the most part) as are common both to vs and to other countreies, as cocks, hens, geese, duckes, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reason of their multitudes, and number of houses daily erected for their increase (which the balwies of the countrie call in scozne almehouses, and dens of theues, and such like) whereof there is great plentie in euery farmers yard. They are kept there also to be sold either for readie monie in the open markets, or else to be spent at home in good companie amongst their neighbors without reprehension or fines. Neither are we so miserable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the especiall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or sup with a quarter of a hen, or to make so great a repast with a rocks combe, as they do in some other countreies: but if occasion serue, the whole carcasses of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and such like do off go to wache, beside bace, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euery feast are taken for necessarie dishes amongst the communalitie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practise brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indish peacocks is a newer deuise: and certeinlie not vsed amisse, with the rankenness of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the strong taste of the flesh in sundrie wise amended. If I should say that ganders grow also to be gelded, I suppose that some will laugh me to scozne, neither haue I tasted at anie time of such a foule so serued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vsed in the countrie, where their geese are driuen to the field like herds of cattell by a gosseheard, a toie also no lesse to be marvelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, so is it strange to me to see or heare of geese to be led to the field like sheepe: yet so it is, & their gosseheard carrieth a rattle of paper or parchment, with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his gollings together, the noise whereof cometh no sener to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to see how they will peep vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellows. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this sort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept so much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke foules their dung doth so qualifie the bateness of the soile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and sundrie other diseases, although some of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the industrie of man, as betwene the fasant cocke and donghill hen, or betwene the fasant and the ringdow, the

peacocks and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pidgeon: but sith I haue no more knowledge of these, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan speaking of the second sort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beantie. I would likewise intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crows, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, falcs, ringtailes, starlings, woodpikes, woodnaues, rauens, &c: but sith they are bound in all countreies, though peradventure most of all in England (by reason of our negligence) I shall not need to spend anie time in the rehearfall of them. Neither are our crows and choughs cherished of purpose to catch by the waines that breed in our foules (as Polydor supposeth) sith there are no vplandish toiwes but haue (or should haue) nets of their owne in stoze to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewise made for their utter destruction, as also the spoile of other rauenous foules hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whose valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuise brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the destruction of their white crows, and tale made by the becke, which killeth both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them also for the rooting out of their wild beastes, sauing that they spare their greatest beares, especiallie the white, whose skins are by custome & priuilege reserued to couer those planners whereupon their priests do stand at Masse, least he should take some vnkind cold in such a long peece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he shall haue pardon inough for that so religious an act, to last if he will till doomes day do approach; and manie thousands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnkellie to be true, than that these noisome creatures are nourished amongst vs to deuoure our waines, which do not abound much more in England than elsewhere in other countreies of the maine. It may be that some looke for a discourse also of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackebirds, maufes, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larkes, tuiuts, kingsfishers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinches, goldfinches, washtalles, cheriecrackers, yellohamers, selfares, &c: but I should then spend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I speake of our costlie and curious antiques daily made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obseruation of their natures: but I cease also to go anie further in these things, hauing (as I thinke) said inough alreadie of these that I haue named.

Offish vsuallie taken vpon
our coasts.

Cap. 3.

I haue in my description of waters, as occasion hath serued, intreated of the names of some of the severall fishes which are commonlie to be found in our riuers. Fewer thelesse as euery water hath a sundrie mixture, and therefore is not stored with euery kind: so there is almost no house, euen of the meanest bolmes, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reueruation of water vnfozed with some of them, as with tench, carpe, bream, roch, bace, eels, or such like as will liue and breed together. Certes it is not possible for me to deliuer the names of all such kinds of fishes

El.ij. as

The description of England.

as our rivers are found to beare: yet least I should seeme inuisious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue bene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they do come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middest of September to the middest of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest rivers, as their young store are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Summer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, polwt, cheuin, pike, godgeon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimps, creuises, lampreies, and such like, whose preservation is prouided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our rivers, but also in plathes or lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and do much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon these banks, not coniecting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more prejudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and ele, which commonly deuoure such fish or fowle and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheless, the pike is friend vnto the fowle, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuert and fat vnto the buier, for the better utterance of his wares, and can not make him away at that present, he laiesth the same againe into the proper place, and solving vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where fowles are, who neuer cease to sucke and lick his greued place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him ready to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuert fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eyes or gilles to the crook of the taitles, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageeth, receiue diuerse names, as from a frie to a gilted, from a gilted to a pod, from a pod to a lache, from a lache to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a lucc; also that a salmon is the first yeare a grauellin, and commonlie too big as an herling, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnnecessarie.

I might finally tell you, how that in fennie rivers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the grasse downewards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of eels, if it would seeme a wonder; and yet it is beleued with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But with the certaintie of these things is rather proued by few than the certaintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuertheless this is generally obserued in the maintenance of frie so well in rivers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of willow and fallow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserved and kept from the pike, perch, eel, and other fish, of which the carpe also will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some vse in euery fitt or season to yere to laie their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finally, when they haue spawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not about foure or six behind, even in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest do prosper the better: and this obseruation is most vled in carpe and bream;

as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euery where, I meane so well in ponds as rivers, and also in mores and pities, as I do know by experience, though their bottoms be but clauie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it cometh to passe that none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheless, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plenty of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthy rivers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trolts, turbot, muskles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Iulie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and wherewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatly acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutely, I should enterprise more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often seene, to the end I may not altogether passe ouer this chapter without the rehearsal of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indred, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find five sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbot, birt, fluke or sea flounder, dozreie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, matbens, kingsons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, stewed, & eaten here at home, whilist the lesser be fried or buttered; some after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an eggle fish to fight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindly dressed: the whitting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea bream, pottle, hake, sea trolwt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, spatz, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Under this kind also are all the great fish contained, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of body be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eels, gare fish, and such other of that forme. Finally, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the Polypus called in English the lobster, crabs, or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crabs they are not taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh rivers in banks, and vnder stones, where they keepe themselves in most secret maner; and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceiue even the skillfull takers of them, except they vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his massion ruffique,

Flat fish.

Round fish.

Long fish.

Legged fish.

rustique, doubted whether these lobsters be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken also upon our coasts; but sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are usuallie gotten, or so manie of them onelie as I can well rehearse upon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbear the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellic sort, we haue plentie of oysters, whose balure in old time for their sweetnesse was not unknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cypricene before them) and these we haue in like manner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We haue in like sort no small store of great whelkes, scalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our oysters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to saie, Maie, Iune, Iulie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our sea fish, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much haue I yielded to do, hoping hereafter to saie some what more, and more orderlie of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so make by a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now see is verie slenderly attempted and begun.

Of sauage beasts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, bears, tigers, pards, wolves, & such like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in safetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the most part abroad in the field without anie herdsman or keeper.

This is chesellie spoken of the south and south-west parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this side of the Iland, may safelie boast of our securitie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots do the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they haue greivous wolves and cruell fores, beside some other of like disposition continuallie conuerfant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no small damage vnto the inhabitants of those quarters. The happie and fortunate want of these beasts in England is vniuersallie ascribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be clesed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welshmen (who were then pestered with these rauensome creatures above measure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolves skinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie, for their prince to hunt & pursue them over all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles do report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales: paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolves, whose carcases being brought into Lhoegres, were

buried at Wolspit in Cambridgeshire, and that by means thereof within the compasse and terme of foure yeares, none of those noisome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time also we read not that anie wolfe hath bene sene here that hath bene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: notwithstanding they haue bene diuerse brought ouer from beyond the seas for greedinesse of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the galing and gaping of our people upon them, who couet oft to see them being strange beasts in their eyes, and sildome knowne (as I haue said) in England.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and those with maines of no lesse force than they of Mauritania were sometimes reported to be; but how and when they were destroyed as yet I do not read. They had in like sort no lesse plentie of wild and cruell bulls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by pursuit either on horsebacke or foot in armor; notwithstanding that manie times they were dangeroullie assailed by them. But both these sauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the least wisse the later scarcelie known in the south parts. Wherof this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwise the generation of those & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of set purpose replenish the countrie with them for his pleasure and pastime in hunting, I can in no wise beleue.

Of fores we haue some but no great store, and also badgers in our sandie & light grounds, where woods, firres, brome, and plentie of shrubs are to shewd them in, when they be from their borowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to sed upon at will. Otherwise in clate, which we call the cledgie mould, we sildom heare of anie, because the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to dig and make their borowes depe. Certes if I may freelie saie what I thinke, I suppose that these two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preserved by gentlemen to hunt and haue pastime withall at their owne pleasures, than otherwise suffered to liue, as not able to be destroyed because of their great numbers. For such is the scantie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be sene in other countries, and so earnestlie are the inhabitants bent to rot them out, that except it had bene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwise haue bene chosen, but that they should haue bene vtterlie destroyed by manie yeares agoe.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniver, the weasell, skote, fulmart, squirrell, fitchew, and such like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muscula*: also of the otter, and likewise of the beuer, whose hinder fet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monstrous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flocks vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nesses, wherein their bodies lie drie about the waier, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their taitles may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said taitles are a delicate dish, and their stones of such medicinable force, that (as

Fores.
Badgers,

Beuers.

Wolves.

Tribute of
Wolves skins.

Verto-

Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractive force, proceeding from a vehement savour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, chiefly about Balascham, from whence they and their dyed cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some force by such as provide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentiful in euery wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Tese in Wales) is not wanting to seeke in mante, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I do finally the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I would doubt whether that of our beuers or martens may be thought to be the lesse.

Martens.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow dère, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and some of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselves they are not offensive at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie prejudiciall, and therefore iustlie reprobued of many; as are in like sort our huge flocks of sheepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euery place, and yet our mutton, wool, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow dère do bying forth, are commonlie named according to their severall ages: for the first yere it is a salone, the second a puchot, the third a ferrell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be five yers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceived in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rotuie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be marvelled at, that whereas they do yereleie mew and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they do griffe or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red dère, I find that the yong male is called in the first yere a calfe, in the second a broker, the third a spaie, the fourth a dragon or flag, the fift a great flag, the sixt an hart, and so forth vnto his death. And with him in degree of venerie are accounted the hare, boze, and wolfe. The fallow dère as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduerture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) do make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow dère is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that felie beast is mother to all the terms, blasse, and artificiall deuises that hunters do vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are pastimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoever Franciscus Patricius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tastling of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as enemies will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horses fat, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surely this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the boze, and the beare, but most

Stags.

willingle lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; in somuch that at one time he caused an odorous chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whom he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he overthrew and killed the beast. Herevnto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, wolfe, &c. the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdainig (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walked about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chiefly he loved to hunt the lion and the boze, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherewith to trouble his eyesight in anie manner of wise. For though the boze be fierre, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trees, to sharpen his tath, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so nere together, that the one (if need be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horsebacke or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bozes and bulles to haue bene about Blackheie nere Spanchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts, but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said already.

King Henrie the first in his beginning thought it a mere scofferie to pursue ante fallow dère with bounds or greyhounds, but supposed himselfe able to haue done a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the byshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polydorus Amlethus, of whom it is written, how he ran so swifflie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardly beleue: and therefore much lesse that one Aias did run so lightlie and swifflie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I do read) but this I thinke was verie long agoe, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willingle that the hunting of the red dère is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse foreign countries they cause their red and fallow dère to draw the plough, as we do our oxen and horses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we do here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue bene seene and used in Wales, where he did eat cheese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemen house, whose wife of purpose kept a deir of the same. As for the plowing with byes (which I suppose to be unlikely) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alikes a thing commonlie used in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be seene in England. Therefore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and savage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken already sufficientlie

Hinds haue been milke

sufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenuous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iust report how manie sort of hawkes are bred within this realme. Whobett which of those that are usuallie had among vs are disclosed with in this land, I thinke it moze easie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we haue the eagle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerse of our rockes whereon they breed, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aerie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Wren, sometime builded by Brennus, as our wyters do remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccessible for enemies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth vpon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This also is notable in the ouerthrow of his nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so provide to be let downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with his sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer so good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whether the word eagle and erne do shew anie difference of sexe, I meane betwene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And nere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neests, therewith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuersitie of kind betwene the eagle and the erne, till I perceived that our nation vsed the word erne in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner and the lanneret: the terrell and the goshawke: the mustek and the sparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finally some (though verie few) markions. And these are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this land. Whobett as these are not wanting with vs, so are they not verie plentifull: wherefore such as delite in hauking do make their chiefe prouidence & prouision for the same out of Danke, Germanie, and the Eastcountrie, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at excellent prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and usuallie brought to the markets as chickens, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparhawke preleth not vpon the foule in the morning that he taketh ouer enen, but as loth to haue double benefitt by one selte foule, doth let it go to make some gift for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the wyters worthy the noting, that the sparhawke is enemie to yong children, as is also the ape; but of the pecko he is maruellously afraid & so appalled, that all courage & stomack for a time is taken from him vpon the sight thereof. But to proceed with the rest. Of other rauenuous birds we haue also verie great plentie, as the bullard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunhite, & such

as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crows haue learned also the waie: and so much are our rauens giuen to this kind of spoile, that some idle and curious heads of set purpose haue manned, reclaimed, and vnted them in stead of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauens should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I frelie surceale to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet moze hairie and rough, their sides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith also their gorge or a part of their breast vnder their throates is armed, and not with feathers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauens (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygarus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue seene the carrion crows so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue vsed to soare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their feet & gone awate withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this present the aforesaid riuer is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospreyes which breed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the keepers of the same do reape in breeding time no small commoditie: for so soon almost as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not bene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a goose wherewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheless is certaine that both alive and dead, yea euen his verie osse is a deable terror to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause therefore I should describe the common amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chieflie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauens, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not convenient, let vs now see what may be said of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beasts.

Chap. 6.

I f I should go about to make anie long discourse of venemous beasts or wormes bred in England, I should attempt more than occasion it selfe would readilie offer, sith we haue verie few worms, but no beasts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. First of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an after) which

*Galenus de
Theriaca ad
Pisonem,
*Plin. lib. 10,
cap. 62.

adder or
viper.

See Aristotle,
Animalium
lib. 5. cap. vi.
timo. & Theo-
phrast lib. 7.
cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40.
Plin. lib. 37.
cap. 11.

Codex,
Frogs.

some men do not rashly take to be the viper. Cer-
tes if it be so, then is it not the viper author of the
death of his parents, as some histories affirme; and
thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica*,
lib. 3. cap. 78. where he maketh mention of the adder
which he saw in Sala, whose wombe (as he saith) was
eaten out after a like fashion, his young ones lying
by him in the sunne shine, as if they had bene earth
worms. Heuer the lesse as he nameth them *Viperas*,
so he calleth the male *Echis*, and the female *Echidna*,
concluding in the end that *Echis* is the same serpent
which his countrymen to this daie call *Ein atter*, as
I haue also noted before out of a Sharon dictionarie.
For my part I am persuaded that the slaughter of
their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies
although I doubt not but that nature hath right
well provided to inhibit their superfluous increase
by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am
I led hereto, for that I gather by Nicander, that
of all venomous worms the viper onelie bringeth
out his young alive, and therefore is called in Latine
Vipera quasi vivipara: but of his owne death he doth
not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testifi-
fied also by other in other words, & to the like sense,
that *Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non ouas sed ani-
malia parit*. And it may well be, for I remember that
I haue read in Philostratus *De vita Apollonii*, how he
saw a viper licking his young. I did see an adder once
my selfe that laie (as I thought) sleeping on a moule-
hill, out of whose mouth came cleuen young adders
of twelue or thirtene inches in length a peece, which
plaid to and fro in the grasse one with another, till
some of them espied me. So some therefore as they
saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their
dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them
shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in his bellie,
much like vnto a soft white tellie, which maketh me
to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper in-
ded. The colour of their skin is for the most part like
rustie iron or iron grate: but such as be verie old re-
semble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit,
in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast
their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age re-
neweth) so their stinging bringeth death without pre-
sent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing
to swell, neither the venom to worke till the skin of
the one break, and the other ascend upward to the
hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the
iuce of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus mirum*)
be speedilie ministred and drunk in strong ale, or else
some other medicine taken of like force, that may
counteruaile and overcome the venom of the same.
The length of them is most commonlie two foot and
somewhat more, but seldome doth it extend vnto two
foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monste-
rous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and
sene sometimes to surmount a yard, or three foot, al-
though their poison be nothing so grievous and dead-
lie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder
stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap.
15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees,
and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the
summer they come abroad, and lie either round on
heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elswhere
in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland
countreies and highest grounds, where sometimes
(though seldome) a speckled stone called *Echites*, in
dutch *Ein atter stein*, is gotten out of their dried car-
casses, which diuers report to be good against their poi-
son. As for our snakes, which in Latine are proper-
lie named *Angues*, they commonlie are sene in
moors, fens, lowe waies, and lowe bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders
commonlie are found, so doe frogs abound where

snakes doe keepe their residence. We haue also the
slow worme, which is blacke and grasse of colour, and
somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing
once of one of them, and thereby perceived that the
was not so called of anie want of nimble motion,
but rather of the contrarie. Heuer the lesse we haue a
blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and
timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also
do call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow
worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or
lesse varietie of striped colours, drawn long waies
from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a
foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This al-
so is not to be omitted, that now and then in our scot-
tic countreies, other kinds of serpents are found of
greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake:
but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be sene, so
I meane not to intreat of them among our com-
mon annoyances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a
plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and
whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither
the tarantula or Peopolitane spider, whose poison
bringeth death, except muske be at hand. Wherefore I
suppose our countreie to be the more happie (I meane
in part) for that it is void of these two grievous an-
noyances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue also efts, both of the land and water, and
likewise the noisome switts, whereof to saie anie
more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well
knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to
be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall
not be amisse a litle to touch them also) we haue
none that can do hurt or hinderance naturallie vn-
to anie: for whether they be cut waisted, or whole bo-
dies, they are void of poison and all venomous incli-
nation. The cut or girt waisted (for so I English the
word *Insecta*) are the hornets, wasps, bees, and such
like, whereof we haue great store, and of which an o-
pinion is conceiued, that the first breed of the cor-
ruption of dead bodies, the second of peares and ap-
ples corrupted, and the last of fine and ozen; which
may be true, especiallie the first and latter in some
parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as
also in the second, sith we haue neuer waspes, but
when our fruit beginneth to warrype. In deed Vir-
gil and others speake of a generation of bees, by kil-
ling or smothering of a bayed bullocke or calfe,
and laieing his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in
his hide in a close house for a certaine season; but
how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet sure I
am of this; that no one liuing creature corrupteth
without the production of another, as we may see by
our selues, whose flesh doth alter into lice; and also in
thee for excellent numbers of flesh flies, if they be
suffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and
swine, who often and happilie prevent such needlesse
generations.

As concerning bees, I thinke it good to remember,
that whereas some ancient writers affirme it to be a
commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found
to be nothing so. In old time peradventure we had
none in deed; but in my daies there is such plentie of
them in maner euerie where, that in some vplandish
townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred
hives of them, although the said hives are not so
huge as those of the east countreie, but far lesse, as
not able to containe aboue one bushell of coyne, or
five pecks at the most. Plinie (a man that of set pur-
pose delieth to write of wonders) speaking of homie
noteth that in the north regions the hives in his time
were of such quantitie, that some one combe contai-
ned eight foot in length, & yet (as it should seme) he
speketh not of the greatest. For in Podolia, which is
now subiect to the king of Poland, their hives are so
great,

Slow worme.

Efts.
Switts.

Flies.

Cut waisted,
whole bodies,
hornets,
wasps.

great and combs so abundant, that huge boxes ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best, because it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier beselld by, than that which cometh from beyond the sea, where they stampe and streine their combs, bees, and pong blowings altogether into the stiffe, as I haue bene informed. In this also of medicine our physicians and apothecaries eschew the foren, especially that of Spaine and Bonchus, by reason of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the same, as some write, and chose the honie made: not onelie by reason of our soile, which hath no lesse plentie of wild thyme growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the best stiffe; as also for that it breedeth being gotten in harvest time lesse choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue seene by experience) so white as sugar, and coned as if it were salt. Our hives are made commonlie of re straw, and wadded about with bumble quarters: but some make the same of twicker, and cast them ouer with claie. We cherish none in trees, but set our hives somewhere on the warmest side of the house, prouiding that they may stand drie and without danger both of the mouse and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that where as in vessels of oile, that which is next the top is counted the finest, and of wine that in the midst: so of honie the best which is heaviest and moistest is alwaies next the bottoine, and euermore casteth and drieth his dregs byward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose grounds and laze do generallie settle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bees and English honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we beetles, boxsedies, turdbugs or doxres (called in Latine *Scarabaei*) the locust or the grasshopper (which to me doe seeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other treat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did Domitian sometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited so much to see the tollie combats betwixt a stout die and an old spider, that diuerse men haue had great rewards given them for their painfull provision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some parasites also in the time of the aforesaid emperor, (when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and yet would seme in appearance to gratifie his fantastical head with some shew of dutifull demeanour) could deuise to set their lord on worke, by letting a flesh flye pincilie into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set apart) and neuer ceased till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon arose the prouerbe, *Ne musca quidem*, uttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered, *Ne musca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are some cockcombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men transregionate, which make account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter, telling that a fight is seene betwene them, if either of them be lustie and couragious in his kind. One also hath made a booke of the spider and the flye, where in he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning thereof. But if those tollie fellows in stead of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the

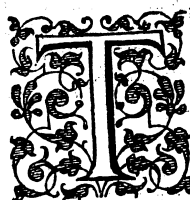
cost to set a soles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by diuerse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flye, and affirme verie constantlie, that they saw none other creature than the grasshopper, during the time of that annoyance, which was said to come to them from the Aethiopes. In most of our translations also of the bible, the word *Locustis* is Englished a grasshopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwise John the Baptist would neuer haue lined with them in the wilderness. In Barbarte, Sumatra, and sundrie other places of Africa, as they haue bene, so are they eaten to this daie powdered in barrels, and therefore the people of those parts are called Acedophagi: neuer theles they shorten the life of the eaters by the production at the last of an irksome and filthy disease. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome above an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath some likelhood, but not verie great, with the grasshopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vniplier in this case. Finally Mattheolus, and so manie as describe the locust, doe set downe none other forme than that of our grasshopper, which maketh me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locust and grasshopper are one.

See Diodorus Siculus.

Of our English dogs and their qualities.

Chap. 7.



There is no countrie that make (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuersitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now alive, he would not send to Cyprus for such merchandise: but to his further cost prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and peece of husbandrie for his common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose with Molossian and Laconian dogs, as he did the same also with shepe out of Attica and Siletum, gotes from Scyzo and Parus, swine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Whobett the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise vnto Gellner *De canibus Anglicis*, bringeth them all into three sorts: that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the homelie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the currish kind meet for many toies. For my part I can say no more of them than he hath done already. Wherefore I will here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a delicate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Caramantes out of captiuitie, makinge the resistance of his aduersaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Aristotle, &c. who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatness with oxen, and some also for smallness unto the little field mouse. Neither doe I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did sometime buy up all our mastiffes, to serve in the forwards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenies of Calicut and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from us.

The first sort therefore he divideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewaileth his flight by pursue. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the first sort excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke springing, the third in swiftnesse and quicknesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c. and the last in subtiltie and deceiptfulness. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie because of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes most exactly. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skillfully, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to harke and follow such a dog, and they oftentimes obeye so sone as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called harriers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the wolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polecat, foxgast, weasel, conie, &c. the second hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and hold and then to pursue a therse or brast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gashound, who hunteth by the eye: the fifth a grehound, cherished for his strength, swiftnesse, and nature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not unremined by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but above all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

— magna spectandi mole Britannia,
also by Nemesianus, libro *Cynegeticon*, where he saith:

Divisa Britannia mittit
Velocis nostris orbis venatibus aptos,
of which sort also some be smooth, of sundrie colours, and some shag haired: the first a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seventh a tumbler: and the eight a therse, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceipt, wherein they are off so skillfull, that few men would thinke so muchieous a wit to remaine in such little creatures. Having made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serve the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth by such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most binall for the net or traine: the other for the halowe, as he doth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they have no peculiar names assigned to them severallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or serve, for which consideration some be named dogs for the sea-fant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Holobert, the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we have of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the sittinghound, and those are called *Meliter*, of the Island Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and nere to satiffie the use delicacie of daintie dames, and

wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a silitie poze shift to shun their irksome toiles. These Sybarricall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they have an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they provoke, as meet plaieselldoves for minding mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with sleepe in bed, and nourish with meat at board, to lie in their laps, and like their lips as they lie like young Dianæes in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for courtliness with fineness hath no fellowship, but feattiness with neatness hath neighbourhead inough. That plausible proverbe therefore veredeth sometime upon a tyrant, namelie that he loved his sow better than his sonne, may well be applyed to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, than are dejected of all possibilitie of reason, than they doe in children that are capable of wisdom and judgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the best, where the poze mans child at their dore can hardly come by the worst. But the former abuse peradventure reigneth where there hath bene long want of issue, else where barrenness is the best blossome of beautie: or finally, where poze mens children for want of their owne issue are not ready to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weakish stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the pallsie to feele the dailie smell and favour of a fox. But how true this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to have said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepherds curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it needeth me not to speake of them. Their use also is so well knowne in keeping the heard together (either when they graze or go before the shepheard) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Therefore I will leave this cure unto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, the dog, or band dog, so called because manie of them are tied by in chaines and strong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborn, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearful to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Cassican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruel and fierce, assist nature with some art, use and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beate, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruel and bloudie beasts, (either brought over or kept by at home, for the same purpose) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them by in fighting and byessing with a man (having for the safeguard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, pzinie coate) whereby they become the more fierce and cruell unto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that everie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should devour their carcases after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therefore there were the dogs kept by by publicke ordinance, to devour them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great

homelie kind of dogs,

The dogs.

difficultie

Some barke
and bite not.

Some bite
and barke not.

difficultie after a while restrained from falling vpon
the living. But whether an I digressed? In return-
ing therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes,
some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but
will not bite, some do both barke and bite, but the
cruellest do either not barke at all, or bite before
they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than
anie of the other. They take also their name of the
word mase and these (or master these if you will)
because they often sound and put such persons to
their shifts in townes and villages, and are the prin-
cipall causes of their apprehension and taking. The
force which is in them surmounteth all belaxe, and
the fast hold which they take with their teeth excedeth
all credit: for three of them against a beare, four against
a lion are sufficient to trie mastiffes with
them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report go-
eth, commanded all such curres to be hanged, because
they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is
their king and souereigne. The like he did with an
excellent falcon, as some saie, because he feared
not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his
falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head
after he was taken downe, saing that it was not
meet for anie subiect to offer such wrong vnto his
lord and superiour, wherein he had a further mean-
ing. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in
our time, what would he haue done to one English
mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all
pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and
last of all a lion, each after other before the French
king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurst was am-
bassado: vnto him, and whereof if I should write the
circumstances, that is, how he toke his auantage
being let lose vnto them, and finallye drave them into
such excending feare, that they were all glad to run
a waie when he was taken from them, I should take
much paines, and yet reape but small credit: where-
fore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof.
Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night,
some are to be tied by both daie and night. Such also
as are suffered to go lose about the house and yarde,
are so gentle in the daie time, that chylzen may ride
on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleasures.
Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer
their maister and wholseuer of his household, that if a
stranger do imbrace or touch anie of them, they will
fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extream mis-
chiefe if their furie be not prevented. Such an one
was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bi-
thynia, who seeing Consigne the quene to imbrace
and kisse hir husband as they walked together in a
garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mangle his resist-
ance, and the present aid of such as attended on
them. Some of them moreouer will suffer a stran-
ger to come in and walke about the house or yarde
where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow
him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing,
then will they sie vpon him and kill him if they may.
I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie
man to bring in his weapon further than my gate:
neither those that were of my house to be touched in
his presence. And if I had beate anie of my chylzen,
he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his
teeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe
their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in
my opinion is not vnto this to be noted. And thus
much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith
and loue towards their maisters than horses; as
may appere cuenly by the confidence that Mahimissa
reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his
household seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which
manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and
conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, no:

of lesse force than the Apollonian race, brought from
Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to
haue originall from the bialen dog that Vulcan
made, and gaue to Jupiter, who also deliuered the
same to Europa, she to Procris, and Procris to Ce-
phalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither
vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alex-
ander Therius, who by his onelie courage and at-
tendance kept his maister long time from slaughter,
till at the last he was remoued by policie, and the ty-
rant killed sleeping: the storie goeth thus. These the
wife of the said Therius and hir three brethren con-
spired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog
onelie, she found the means to allure him from his
chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house
hard by, whilst they should execute their purpose.
Nevertheless, when they came to the bed where he
laie sleeping, they wared faint harted, till he did put
them in choller, either that they should dispatch him
at once, or else that he hir selfe would wake hir hus-
band, and giue him warning of his enemies, or at the
least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they fea-
red most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched
him.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind
meet for manie totes: of which the whippet or pick-
eard cur is one. Some men call them warners, be-
cause they are good for nothing else but to barke and
giue warning when anie bodie doth stirre or lie in
wait about the house in the night season. Certes it
is impossible to describe these curs in anie order, be-
cause they haue no anie one kind proper vnto them-
selues, but are a confused compantie mixt of all the
rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits,
whose office is not vnknoone to anie. And as these
are onelie reserved for this purpose, so in manie pla-
ces our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers haue
of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made
to draw water in great wheles out of deepe wells,
going much like vnto those which are framed for our
turne spits, as is to be seene at Koffon, where this
feat is often practised. Besides these also we haue
holts or curs dailie brought out of Ireland, and
much made of among vs, because of their fatuinesse
and quarrelling. Whereouer they bite vertie sore, and
loue candles excendinglie, as do the men and wo-
men of their countrie: but I may saie no more of
them, because they are not bred with vs. Yet this will
I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that
when a great man of those parts came of late into
one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see
the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparel-
led in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilst hir
husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners,
espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the
mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell
to and eat them vp euerie one, supposing hir selfe to
haue bene at a solie banquet, and shewing vertie ple-
asant gesture when hir husband came vp againe vnto
to hir.

The last kind of toiseth curs are named danlers,
and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught &
exercised to danle in measure at the muscalle sound
of an instrument, as at the lust stroke of a drum,
sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie
of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture
of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpright, to lie flat
vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding
their taitles in their teeth, to saue and beg for meat,
to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such pro-
perties, which they learne of their idle rogish masters
whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old
apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short waisted
sackets are for the like vagabunds, who saue no bet-
ter

ter lining, than that which they may get by fond pasture and idleness. I might here intereat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betwixen a bitch and a wolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often saide in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who the their saile bitches often in woods, that they might be lotted by tigers: also betwixen a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as for betterlie want the first dog, except they be brought into us: so it happened sometime, that the other two are ingendered and saide at home amongst us. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglis and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor satisfiable in hand, than that which is begotten betwixen the beare and the bandog. For what soever he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner reare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither wolfe, beare, nor lion, and therefore may well be compared both those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (I procreated as it is thought betwixen a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hyrcania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft saide betwixen lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I saide) betwixen the wolfe and dogs, whereof let this suffice: stith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De subtil. lib. 10.* who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become wolves, and contrariwise, which if it were true, than could not England be without manie wolves: but nature hath set a difference betwixen them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bodies, therefore it is impossible that his assertion can be sound.

Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.



As the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giveth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that cometh from Cilicia, where it groweth upon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Aetolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst us, the same that groweth about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Gloucester shire and those westertie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthille the higher price, by six pence or twelve pence most commonlie in the port. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like unto an indifferent chestnut, yet it is not clouded as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Stuyryon*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogether so bricke as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leaf flourisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time doth come to take them up, they have no roots at all, but so continue untill September

that they do grow againe: and before the chine be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if these or neat may come to the air on the heape: as they lie in the field, they will be no use then as if they were haie or stuble, some also will rot for them in verie eger manner. The least or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as a galle, which come by alwaies in October after the flowers be gathered and gone, pointed on a little like a wing like unto our lines. Sometimes our cartoll will feed upon the same; neuertheless, if it be broken whilst it is graine, the head with, and therefore our crockes are careful to keepe it from such annoyance untill it begin to wither; and then also will the cartoll feede all thereof: for untill that time the saies thereof is bitter. In enerie flower we find commonlie three chins, and three yel-towers, and double the number of leaves. Of twisted flowers I speake not; yet it is found, that two flowers grow together, which bring forth five chins, so that alwaies there is an odd chine and odd yeltow, though three or foure flowers should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Greke *Crocus*, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) *Callor*, *Cynomorphos*, or *Hercules blood*: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borrow the name which we give therunto) I find that it is called *Zahafaran*, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called *Crocus* was this (as the poets feigne) spectallie those from whence Galen hath borrowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum loca*, where he writeth after this manner (although I take *Crocus* to be the first that used this commoditie.) A certaine young gentleman called *Crocus* went to play at cotts in the field with *Mercurie*, and being heedlesse of himselfe, *Mercuries* cott happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he received a wound that yet long killed him altogether, to the great discomfort of his friends. Finally, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chine as it staid (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adjudged it to come of the blood of *Crocus*, and therefore they gave it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, etc. differ very much from Ouids *Metamorphos. 4.* who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chine, while it remaineth whole & unbrused, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and converted into use, it yeldeth a yellois tincture. But what have we to do with fables?

The heads of saffron are raised in June, either with plough, raking, or tined boke; and being scowred from their rolle or filth, and severed from such heads as are ingendered of them since the last setting, they are interred againe in June and August by ranks or rows, and being covered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small roots like unto a scallion, untill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth upon the same removed, to the intent that nothing may annoie the flower when as his time doth come to rise.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the flower beginneth to appeare of a whitish blew, scelle or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the *Leucotion* of Theophrast, saying that it is longer, and hath in the middle thereof three chins verie red and pleasant to behold. These flowers are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or sutter. And the chins being picked from the flowers, these are throwne into the donghill,

Occasional
the name.

Gathering

See Rembert

downhill; the other dyed upon little kelles covered with streined canvases upon a soft fire: whereby, and by the weight that is laied upon them, they are dyed and pressed into cakes, and then bagged up for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure scores or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dyed doth yeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and with the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the letter, which indeed are great, but yet not so great as he shall be thereby a loser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding firtene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for renting of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of down which is two shillings pence the load to be laid on the first yeere, for the setting thre and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring five shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he susteine no damage, if warme weather and open season do happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten fot in breadth. And after thre yeeres that ground will serue well; and without compell for barleie by the space of eightene or twentie yeeres together, as experience doth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will stee an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will stee eight or ten daies together. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie nere to make one of drie; but in the middell five pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chive twareth smaller, as fir at the last will do no more but yeld one of the dried, by reason of the chive which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads coming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obserue.

Raising.

The heads are raised euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yeere after they be set they yeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chive, & best for medicine, and called saffron Duhort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Malden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to childe, that is, to yeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets; whereby it hath bene seene, that some one head hath bene increased (though with his owne detriment) to thre, or foure, or five, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause whereby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowen foure bushels or a come of them to be valued much about two shillings eight pence, except in some odd yeeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great stoe of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them up.

In Dorsetholke and Suffolke they raise but once

in seven yeeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridge shire and about Malden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stufte. Some craftie iackes vse to mix it with scraped bysell or with the stoure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat nere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is some belwaied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plenty of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Malden gaue the one halfe of the stoures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilst the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed upon them (as wishing rather more scarcitie thereof because of the keeping up of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saying that he did thite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselves no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulness, & gaue them euer since such scarcitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least stoe; and most of them are either tworne out of occupieng, or remaine scarce able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decayed about Malden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeeres, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken up, they will remaine firtene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Whobest they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint James tide, or verie shortly after. For as if they be taken up before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rotted warden: so after August they will war drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaye. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortie daies and more: yet some of them haue brought forth two or thre stoures a peere, and some stoures thre or five chives, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not bene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grein. The crokers of saffron men do vse an obseruation a little before the coming up of the stoure, and sometime in the taking up at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to indge of plenty and scarcitie of this commoditie to come. For if they see as it were many small hatie beines of saffron to be in the middell of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discern the saffron by the colour, and see where abouts the chive will issue out of the root. warme darke nights, sweet dewes, fat grounds (chieslie the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold do kill and keepe backe the stoure, or else shrinke by the chive. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degre, and most plentiful as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein elwes twine most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vied in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the worst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are belwaied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spone, or by the softnesse thereof betwene the forefinger and the thumbe; or thirle, by

J. J. the

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will be worse the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chive, which other wise would excell it, and thereunto being sound, remaine crispe, byckle, and drie: and finallye, if it be holden nere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eyes, whereby it is ad- iudged good and merchant ware indeed among the skillfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with what former beneuolence I liked. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchen and pastrie, also in our cakes at bydals, and thanksgivings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it enlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tickle and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eyes, it taketh such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awaye the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be layed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitable laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apostumes, and the shingles; and dooth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings proceeding of raw humors. And if it shall please you to drinke the root thereof with maluesie, it will marvellouslie prouoke vrine, dissolve and expell grauell, and yeeld no small ease to them that make their water by drop-meales. Finallye, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfe pence, is deadly poison; as Dioscorides dooth affirme: and dronke in wine (saith Plinius) lib. 3. cap. 12. *De honesta voluptate*, dooth haue on drunkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowen some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet other wise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man do but open and ranke a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddy and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eyes in like sort will yeeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eyesight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this means: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselves as women do when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which dooth in some measure (but not for altogether) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In freed of this some doe vse the Cardamus, called amongst vs bassard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hills, & in all the vale

of the White houlle so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire, if they were careful of it. I heare of some also to be cherished already in Gloucestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chive, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countrymen had bene heretofore (or were now) more careful of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue proued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or wool. But alas! so idle are we; and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the finalnesse of our rents; that few men regard to search out which are their best commoditties. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from vnder euery clod that may be turned aside: The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abuzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred than that of Flossens and Reghe; but how it agreeth with ours it shall appeare hereafter.

Of quarries of stone for building

Chap. 9.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in manner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishops manours, and holds onlie: but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogether infringed; and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper towke, of little continuance; and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names: howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrymen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull manner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doe commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinde in the ground, and take vp an artificiall byckle, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is daily consumed and spent, to the no small decaye of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in mistaking of our owne commoditties at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following the same beine, doe couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skillfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of other countries) doe affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beantie are equall to the outlandish great. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone whereof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the beine of white free stone, slate, and more stone, which is be-
tweene

stone Pentowen, and the blacke head in Corne-
wall, for verie fine stiffe. Other do speake much of
the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Silberie,
and paving stone of Warbecke. For toph stone, not
a few allow of the quarrie that is at Wyke, diuerse
mike not of the veins of hard stone that are at
Driford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at
Chandesser, & Prestburie in Gloucestershire; another
the quarries of the like in Richmond. The third liketh
well of the hard stone in Cle hill in Shropshire; the
fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Ter-
rinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries
now, and good enough in England, sufficient for vs
to build withall, if the paucity contempt of our owne
commodities, and delations to enrich other coun-
tries, did not catch such foolish hold upon vs. It is al-
so verified (as anie other wate) that all nations haue
rather need of England, than England of anie other.
And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our
works. Now if you haue regard to their nature,
how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine
marble are there to be had in England: But chiefie
one in Staffordshe, an other nere to the Pche, the
third at Mauldrie, the fourth at Snotthill (longing to
the lord Chayndois) the fifth at Eglesstone, which is of
blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the
sixt not farre from Durham. Of white marble also
we haue store, and so faire as the Parpetian of Pa-
ris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all,
or the most excellent: sith these which I haue named
alredie are not altogether of the best, nor scarcelie of
anie value in comparison of those, whose places of
growth are utterly unknowne unto me, and where-
of the blacke marble spotted with greene is none of
the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pane-
ment of the lower part of the quire of Pauls in
London, and also in Westminster, where some pe-
ces thereof are yet to be seene and marked, if anie
will looke for them. If marble will not serue, then
haue we the finest alabaſter that maie elswhere be
had, as about saint Daniels of Wales; also nere to
Beau manour, which is about foure or five miles
from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there
are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent,
as in Dorsetshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose
names at this time are out of my remembrance.
What should I talke of the plaister of Archolme (for
of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie pla-
ces of Lincolne and Darbithires, wherewith they
blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not)
certes it is a fine kind of alabaſter. But sith it is sold
commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we Iudge
it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot
skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without
great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the mine
of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an
other like planks or tables, and vnder the same is
an exceeding hard stone verie profitable for building,
as hath often times bene proued. This is also to be
marked further of our plaister white and graie, that
not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie
doth send and yeld it forth, we haue now deuised to
cast it in moulds for windowes and pillars of what
forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaſter it selfe:
and with such stiffe sundrie houses in Dorsetshire are
furnished of late. But of what continuance this de-
uise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie be-
wate. In the meane time sir Iſaſe Burcher knight
hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmed that sir
men in sir moneths shall trauell in that trade to see
greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in sir
yeares could before this trick was inuented.

If neither alabaſter nor marble doth suffice, we
haue the touchstone, called in Latine *lapis lapidis*, thi-

ning as glasse, either to match in sockets with our
pillers of alabaſter, or contrariwise: or if it please the
workeman to ioine pillers of alabaſter or touch with
sockets of brass, pewter, or copper, we want not al-
so these mettals. So that I thinke no nation can haue
more excellent & greater diuersitie of stiffe for build-
ing, than we maie haue in England, if our selues
could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that
not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; &
for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth,
corne, tin, and wolle, for halfe penie cockhorses for
children, dogs of war or of chase, two pennie tabers,
leaden snoods, painted feathers, gewgaws for soles,
dogtricks for disards, halwels whodes, and such like
trumperie, whereby we reape iust mockage and re-
proch in other countries. I might remember here
our pits for millstones, that are to be had in diuerse
places of our countrie, as in Angleſeie, Kent, also at
Quene hope of blew greet, of no lesse value than the
Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grind-
stones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no
lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacedemonia,
albeit we vse no oile with them, as they do in those
parties, but onlie water, as the Italians and Span-
ians do with theirs: whereas they that grow in Illi-
ria must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or
else they make no edge. These also are diuided either
into the hard greet, as the common that shoemakers
vse, or the soft greet called hones, to be had among the
barbars, and those either blacke or white, and the rub-
or bricke stone which husbandmen do occupie in the
whetting of their sithes.

In like manner state of sundrie colours is euerie
where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke,
the shalder and the peble. Holbert for all this wee
must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men
their stones out of Iſeland, wherewith they paved
their towne for want of the like in England: or as
sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones
in Flanders, wherewith he paved the Burse. But as
he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for
the whole mould and substance of his workmanship
in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will
saie, how that stockfish is light loading, and therefore
they did ballast their vessels with these Iſeland
stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so
tedious a voyage. And thus much brieflie of our quar-
ries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the
workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I
meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones,
and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as
frogs, todes, &c: whereof you shall read more in the
chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, Wil-
liam of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amster-
dam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib.
19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Nilosco-
pio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious
stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie
squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond,
found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which
was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in
the world had consulted about the performance of that
workmanship. I know that these reports vnto some
will seeme incredible, and therefore I stand the lon-
ger vpon them; neuer thelesse omitting to speake par-
ticularlie of such things as happen amongst vs; and
rather seeking to confirme the same by the like in o-
ther countries, I will deliuer a few more examples,
whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better ap-
peare. For in the midst of a stone not long since
found at China, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there
was seene *Caput panis* inclosed therein, very perfectlie
formed as the beholders do remember. How come
the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones

that are & haue bene found in the Spanish Batts : But this is most marvellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearche per-sealke found to be found in Bizaine : but as then committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of stiches digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are per-rillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it : and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Aunignion, wherein a man had bene buried, which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men wondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. I smallie I my selfe haue seens stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far thoz-ter) whose crests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, &c. are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, doe as-ferme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

Of fundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.



Vth how great benefits this Island of ours hath bene in-duced from the beginning, I hope there is no goodlie man but will readilie confesse, and yeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, & there is no tempoall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most abundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could see to vse it, & be thankfull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to enrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities : and one trifling toie not worth the cariage, coming (as the proverbe saith) in thre ships from beyond the sea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewel, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our induours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obtaine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are off so little esteemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once learne wisser, and each one inde- not that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie bought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be thorne and

blest abroad, while our clothworkers here doe starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of better practise bitterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and ozpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauou-ers of the common-wealth of England of a subject hath bene of late egregiously abused, and even almost with barbarous incultitie) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were used in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse sometime amongst the Asians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such trial that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Pithydates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceived when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarium or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for moztter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason : the chysocolla, coperis, and minerall stone, wherof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornwell and Deuonshire on either side : and it doth appere yet by god record, that whereas now there is a great distance betwene the Syllan Isles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarce a bowke or dyane of one sadam water betwene them, if so much, as by those euidences appereth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Isles. But to proceed.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Island, as may suffice for all the realme of England : and so must they do hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchen and hall, as may appere already in most cities and towne that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other felwell, except it be fursse and hallocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Souther and Southhampton shire, for want wherof the smiths do worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other colored marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitants do compell their soile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in South-theris as I wrote hard by Codrington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worth five shillings thirtie yeares agoe : none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vngthankfull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed

bestowed vpon vs, whereby he sheweth himselfe a lo-
uing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrarie-
wise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obe-
dience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, more con-
tempt of his will, pride, ercesse, atheisme, and no lesse
than felowly ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our
land.

Chap. II.



All mettals receiue their be-
ginning of quicksiluer and
sulphur, which are as mother
and father to them. And such
is the purpose of nature in
their generations: that the
tentheth alwaies to the pro-
creation of gold, neuerthe-
lesse the sildome reacheth vnto that hie end, bicause
of the vnequall mixture and ppozition of these two
in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment
and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse,
doth shew it selfe in the mettall that is produced.
First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and
quicksiluer being mixed in due ppozition, after long
and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth,
orderlie ingrodded and fired, becommeth gold, which
Encelius doth call the sunne and right heite of na-
ture: but if it swaue but a little (saith he) in the com-
mixture and other circumstances, then doth it pro-
duct siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold
his brother, which among mettall is twofolde called
the chafe. Contrariwise, the substances of the
aforesaid parents mixed without ppozition, and lesse
digested and fired in the entralls of the earth, where-
by the radical moisture becommeth combustible
and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth
either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were
the first mettals knowen in time past vnto antiqui-
tie, although that in these daies there are diuerse o-
ther, whereof neither they nor our alchymists had
euer anie knowledge. Of these therefore which are re-
puted among the third sort, we here in England haue
our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I in-
treat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue
the turne, and yet not altogether omit to saie some
what of gold and siluer also, bicause I find by god ex-
perience how it was not said of old time without
great reason, that all countries haue need of Bri-
taine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a
man regard such necessities as nature onelie requi-
reth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie
so much as ours: sith we doe want none that are con-
uenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue
anie gold at all, we are not bold of some, neither like-
wise of siluer: what soeuer Cicero affirmeth to the
contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whose time they
were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (saith he) *expecta-*
tur: constat enim aditus insula esse munitis mirificis molibus:
etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse
vllum in illa insula, neque vllum spem prada nisi ex mancipijs,
ex quibus nullo puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare.
And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these
(as some other countries doe yield) yet haue my rich
countymen store enough of both in their purses,
where in time past they were wont to haue least, bi-
cause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles,
images, byrnes and apparell of the priests consumed
the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Of late my countymen haue found out I wot
not what voyage into the west Indies, from whence
they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie

is enriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those
parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake
whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne
expectation. One John Frobisher in like maner at-
tempting to seeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie
regions into the peaceable sea and kingdome of Ca-
thaire, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the
waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared,
and so much that some letted not to gine out for cer-
teintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence,
wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew
made him so desirous also of like successe, that he
left off his former voyage, & returned home to bring
news of such things as he had sene. But when after
another voyage it was found to be but vnsle, he gaue
ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home
without anie desire at all to seeke into farre coun-
tries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there sene
and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue
furnished all the world with abundance of that met-
tall: the forme also was short and performed in foure
or five moneths, which was a notable encourage-
ment. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his
time to be carried vnto Marfilis from hence, as Dio-
dorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs,
the one in Cornetwall, Devonshire (& else where in
in the north) the other in Darbishire, Weredale, and
sundry places of this Iland; whereby my countrie-
men doe reape no small commoditie, but especiallie
our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of
pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other tri-
fles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are
growne vnto such exquisite cunning, that they can
in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion
of cup, dish, salt, bottle, or goblet, which is made by
goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious,
exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of
household of this mettall, as we commonlie call by
the name of vessel, is sold vsuallie by the garnish,
which doth containe twelue platters, twelue dishes,
twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion,
or else with broad or narrow byrns, and bought by
the pound, which is now valued at six or seven pence,
or peradventure at eight pence. Of pewterers, pots,
and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making
of all these things there is such exquisite diligence
vses, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true
making of this commoditie (by reason of Charps
lawes ppozouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be
found in any other trade. I haue bene also informed
that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie
pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin,
wherevnto they ad thre or foure pounds of tingle: but
as so much of this doth make the stiffe byckle,
so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and
more profitable vnto him that doth buye and purchase
the same. But to proceed.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of god
flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie
flat, bicause dishes and platters in my time begin to
be made deepe like basons, and are indeed more con-
uenient both for sawce, broth, and keeping the meat
warne) is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like
number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and
in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates,
whose workmen are nothing so skillfull in that trade
as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so
great, as we haue here in England. The Romans
made excellent looking glasses of our English tin,
howbeit our workmen were not then so exquisite in
that feat as the Bوندوئیس: therefore the wrought
mettall was carried over vnto them by waie of
merchandise, and verie highlie were those glasses
esteemed

Gold,
Siluer.

effemed of siluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the sun into such contempt, that in manner euery dishwasher refused to looke in other than siluer glasses for the attiring of his head. Howbeit the making of siluer glasses had bene in vse before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Paricles deuised them in the pong time of Pompeie, which was before the coming of Caesar into this Island.

There were mines of lead sometimes also in Wales, which indured so long till the people had consumed all their wood by melting of the same (as they did also at Comerist with six miles from Straddeur) and I suppose that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he speaketh) was to be found in those parts, in the seventeenth of his thirtieth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie swart of the earth, and daile gotten in such plentie, that the Romans made a restraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much should pearlie be wrought and transported ouer the sea. And here by the waie it is worthy to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling nere Comerist with (as Leland saith) had made so tame, that it would daile sit and folloio him to his worke and other places wherefor he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome of ballie, where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his purse and girdle by him, as men commonlie do that addresse themselves to applie their businesse earnestlie, and he himselfe also had used from time to time before. The crow likewise was verie busie flittering about him, and so much molested him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to lye off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be short, in the end the crow haillie caught by his girdle and purse, and made alwaie withall so fast as his wings could carrie him. Here vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to lose peraduenture all his monie) shewd downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, cursing and menacing that he should lose his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was saued, for he had not bene long out of the mine, yet it fell downe and killed all his fellows. If I should take vpon me to discourse and search out the cause of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I should peraduenture set my selfe further into the bylers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I persuaded, that the crow was Gods instrument herein, whereby the life of this poore labourer was preserved. It was done also in another order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept by a shoemaker of Dutch land in his shop; whose name was: who seeing the same to sit vpon the pearch among his shone, verie beaullie and dionse, said vnto the bird: What alleth my iacke, whie art thou sad and pensue? The crow hearing his master speake after this sort vnto him, answered (or else the diuell within him) out of the psalter: *Cognati dies antiquos & aternos in mente habui*. But whether am I digressed, from lead vnto crows, & from crows vnto diuels: Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had carst in hand.

Iron.

Iron is found in manie places, as in Sussex, Kent, Merredale, Mendip, Walsall, as also in Shropshire, but chiefie in the woods betwixt Belnos and Willocke or Wicbert nere Spanchetter, and elsewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerse do bring forth so fine and good stuffe, as anie that cometh from beyond the sea, beside the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would so accept it, or bestow a little more coll in the refining of it. It is also of

such toughnesse, that it pcedeth to the making of claricord wire in some places of the realme. Peruerthesse, it was better cheape with vs when strangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vse it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the means to shut out foreigners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expence and waste of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table vessel of glasse, wherein is much losse sith it is so quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) easie to be made tougher, if our alchymists could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would indure a metallcall toughnesse vnto it, whereby it should abide the hammer.

Copper is latelie not found, but rather restored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue bene heretofore gotten in our Island; howbeit as strangers haue most commonly the gouernance of our mines, so they hitherto make small gettis of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; whereat wise men do not a little maruell, considering the abundance which that mine doth seeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countryman noteth sundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eastwardes, as betwixt Dunman and Trewardth in the sea clifles, beside other places, whereof diuerse are noted here and there in sundrie places of this booke already, and therefore it shall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchasite, I speake not of it, sith it is not incident to my purpose. In Dorsetshire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

As for our Steele, it is not so good for edge-tooles as that of Colatire, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like tale vled in both, that is to saie, thirte gads to the sheffe, and twelke sheffes to the burden. Our alchymie is artificiall, and thereof our spones and some salts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with some, albe it in truth it be much subiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and soale to handle than our pewter; yet some ignorant persons affirme it to be a metall more naturall, and the verie same which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wisemute, mithan, & counterfeite, adding, that where it groweth, siluer can not be farre off. Peruerthesse it is knowne to be a mixture of brasse, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vled in pewter. But alas I am persuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchymists of our time did euer heare of it, albe it that the name thereof do seeme to come out of their forge. For the common sort indeed do call it alchymie, an vnwholsome metall (God wot) and worthy to be banished and vsuall out of the land. And thus I conclude with this discourse, as hauing no more to saie of the mettals of my countrie, except I should talke of brasse, bell metall, and such as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but saie that there is some brasse found also in England, but so small is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be esteemed or accounted of.

Of pretious stones.

Chap. 12.

The old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call great, and they in Latine *Gagates*: whereunto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as smallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doe make any mention at all. Whobest whatsoeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (upon false surmise) to write of the vices of this our countrie, about the trial of the virginities of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in marriage: certaine it is that even to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbithre and about Barwikke, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toles are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing is so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dallie from the inline. But as these men are blemished with the common error conceived of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now living can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the great of Britaine before the like stones bzed about Aike and all other countries wheresoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

*Nascitur in Lycia lapis & prope gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium secunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, leui & leuissimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguuntur vinctus oliuo.*

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind thereof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of *Gagas* a citie and riuer in Sicilia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engagin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in drining awaie of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperor of that name glazed the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter thereby. The writers also diuide this stone into five kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another streaked with white veines, the third with yelloe lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of blood (but those come out of Ainde) and the fifth shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Whereouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie foren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renoume: in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Caesar to adventure hither, after he had sene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered by in Rome to Venus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired because of their smallnesse, and also for other causes, but especially sith ch archwozke, as copes, vestments, albes,

tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; upon which our countymen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but more either throughtlie frettid, or notable garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia laccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, in *ipso sine*, speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greater those of Persia before them, which to me doth seeme vnequallie done. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time esteemed above those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans revealed manie other: in so much that at this season there are found in England the *Aetites* (in English called the earnestone, but for earnest some pronounce eagle) and the hemattie or bloodstone, and these be the pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chistfall, and those other which we call calamitares and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bzed toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also upon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides treateth, Lib. 5, cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dallie found in cliftes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken by out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else do make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and seeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

I haue heard that the best trial of a stone is to late it on the naille of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good; but if it alter, especially toward the naille, then is it not found, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his *De subtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saith, that a cup of iute will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betwene wine and our iute, as some of our reading philosophers (without all manner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iute of Græce or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iute then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iute; wherefore I can not beleeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said that I may already, and peradventure more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our officers, todes, mulkeles, snailles and adders, and likewise such as are found upon sundrie hills in Gloucestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workman neuer so skillfull

Geat.

Non.
Chalchom-
bile.

Trial of a
stone.

Lib. 7.

skillfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselves are no stones but rather shels or grilles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerse haue holes already entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peason in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from the easterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, sale stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too deere amongst vs when late doth bind vs to vse it. See more for the generation of pearls in the description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, because of the clerenesse, which resembleth the colour of the clere aire before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of August, a little before which time the sweetnesse of the dew is most conuenient for that kind of fish, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their substances of better valure, as lapidaries do glue out.

Of salt made in England.

Chap. 13.

There are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantie in his commentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English as he wrote them, because he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie doth inforce me for the more aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iourne from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Welch by inclosed soile, hauing nextlie good corne ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a firmeile off, which standeth somewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of euerie brooke through out all his English treatises) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Welch is called Salope brooke. The beautie of the towne in maner standeth in one street, yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine street, and once in the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is somewhat forle and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much carriage through the streets, which are herie ill paved or rather not paved at all. The great advancement also hereof is by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgeses be poore generally, because gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilest the poore burgeses yeld vnto all the labour. There are at this present time three hundred salters, and three salt springs in the towne of Welch, whereof the principall is within a butshot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yielding of salt

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beatech the bush but an-

liquor, as both the other. Some saie (or rather fable) other counteth the same as we mark in ballads, that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard de la Welch bishop of Chichester, and that after wards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peradventure for the reall which the Welch men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Welch their countrein, they vied of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue fumes, games, dylings, and foolish reuels at it. But to proceed: There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the left side of the riuer a pretie way lower than the first, and as I found at the verie end of the towne. At these also be atuerse fornaices to make salt, but the profit and pueritie of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of a salter how manie fornaices the place at all the three springs, and he twinned them to eightyne score, that is, three hundred and fiftie, saying how euerie one of them paid pearlie six shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had libertie given vnto them for three hundred fornaices or more, and therupon they gine a forname (or Vettigall) of one hundred pounds pearlie. What the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaices is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring thereabouts, by the meanes of one petyport gentleman dwelling at the Welch, and the place where it was appereth, as doth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to keepe by the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or vndering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Welch than three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in another quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew so be without anie vse, with the Welch men haue such a priuilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie mans house, and at Pantwich berie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They seeth also their salt water in fornaices of lead, and lade out the salt some in cates of twicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or three but berie little salt springs at Dertwith, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made. Of late also a mile from Cambermere abbaie a peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & consent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled by with filth. The Welch men vse the commoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by sir moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt, or for saving of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firing. The lacke of wood also is already perceiued in places nere the Welch, for whereas they vied to hute and take the wood nere vnto their occupi-

privileges doo sometimes harme.

occupiers, those wanted springs are now decayed, and they be enforced to take their wood so far as Worcester to bone, and all the parts about Wenist-gratie, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearlie to be spent at these fornares: and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pote wood for the most, which is easie to be cleft, and handsomelie riven in peeces. The people that are about the fornares are verie ill coloured, and the inst rate of euerie fornae is to make foure loads of salt yearlie, and to euerie load goeth fide: six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornae men make more in one fornae than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imployed to their owne auarice. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countrie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in any order, because my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baie as white are brought and made in England, and more white also upon the west coast toward Scotland, in Orkney and else where, out of the salt water betwene Wiltre and Cokermonth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finally, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our account of time & his parts.

Chap. 14.



A Libras As or Asse to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our account of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrewes had any use; sith they reckoned by watches: and thereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I do not see any great difference used in the obseruation of time & his parts, betwene our owne & any other foreign nation, wherefore I shall not need to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appeere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearfall thereof, and that in so briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniuersallie obserued ouer all. Our common order therfore is to begin at the minut, which containeth $\frac{1}{2}$ part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentieth part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which both begin at midnight, and is obserued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and astronomicall instruments of all sorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone,

neither of the nature of mettall, whereof they haue bene made, as gold, silver, &c: and almost no abbeie, or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excheit spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later containeth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, whereof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also this bert. 33) do of the other, Matthe. 27 c 45 Luke 23 c 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, whereas the elder Egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Jews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night, the Persians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Monbergians, at the sun rising (each of them accounting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Germans, Detructians, and Astronomers at high noone, and so reckon from noone to noone: we affect Hipparchus and the latter Egyptians, or to speake more properly, imitating the Roman maner used in the church there of long time, whose the verie point of midnight; from whence we account twelue squall houres vnto middaye ensuing, and other twelue againe vnto the afore said point, according to these verses;

*Atque diem Græci gens incipit astra sequentes
In medio lucis Iudei vespere sancta,
Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempore nocte.*

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre account, as that we reckon its daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Other wise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddle, shining, burning and warming seasons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others seeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumn, and winter, in like curious manner) and thereof I read these verses:

*Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor hora,
Hæc ruber hæc splendet hæc calet, illa tepet.*

Indeed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of foreign countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concur also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night, in such wise as these verses do import, and are indeed a generall rule wherof they doth follow:

*Tres lucis primas noctis tres sanguinis imas,
Præ cholera mediæ lucis sex vendicat horas,
Daque melius primas noctis tres lucis imas,
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.*

Whence, as Tasseter hath giuen them forth in his prelections:

*Nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus hora
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humor inest donec sit tertia noctis,
Post hæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.*

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

Night.

Vesper.

Crepusculum.

Concubium.

Intempestum.

Gallicinium.

Conticinium.

Matutinum.

Dilucidum.

watches.

Houre.

weeke.

In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darknight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil bleth the word *Vesper* the evening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betwene daie and night, light and darknesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sleepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie; and *Dilucidum* *sive aurora*, the ruddie, orange, golden or shining colour, scene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the evening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

Other there are which do reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at evening called the first watch, and continueth by thre vnequall houres, and so forth untill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreteth, which is called the morning watch, because it concurrerth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

As for the originall of the word *houre*, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, whereof we shall read abundantly in the scriptures, which was deuised first among soldiers for their better safeguard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great heed and some solemnitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yere, as the foure and twentieth part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie? To proceed therefore.

Of naturall daies is the weeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridate being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or working, because it is either the safest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot gesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreteth with mondaie, whereby it cometh to passe, that we rest vpon the sabbath, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Ietws begin their weeke vpon our saturday at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturday, whereby it cometh to passe, that as the Ietws make our last daie the first of their weeke, so the Turks make the Ietwisch sabbath the beginning of their *Ebedoma*: because *Apahomet* their prophet (as they saie) was bozne and dead vpon the fridate, and so he was indeed, except their *Alcharon* deceiue them. The Ietws do reckon their daies by their distance from their sabbath, so that the first daie of their weeke is the first daie of the sabbath, and so forth vnto the first. The Latins and Egyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, choosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreteth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie retained with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogether abolished, as may appere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturday. The rest were changed by the Sarons, who in remembrance of *Abent* sometime their prince, called the second day of the week *Abentdach*, the third *Woden*, *Wthin*, *Wthon*, or *Edon*, or *Wodenbach*. Also of *Thoz* they named the fourth daie *Thozdach*, and of

Freia wife to *Woden* the fifth was called *Freabach*. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by *Thoz*, *Jupiter*, by *Woden*, *Mercurie*, by *Freia* (or *Frigga* as Saxo calleth hir) *Venus*, and finally by *Abent*, *Mars*: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercurie*, and *Jupiter*, whereof you may read moze hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that *Freia* albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a god report, for that the loue: one of hir husband men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by *Woden*: the first, father to *Merca*, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. *Fethelgeta* was the second, and of him came the kings of *Wercia*. *Baldade* the third, father to the kings of the west *Sarons*. *Weldagius* the fourth, parent to the kings of *Wercia* or *Northumberland*. *Wegodach* the fifth, adthor of the kings of *Deira*. *Caser* the first race of the east Angle race, & *Balcad* or original burgeant of the kings of *Essex*. As for the kings of *Sussex*, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments doe expresse. But to proceed.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Sarons, so in our churches we retained for a long time the number of daies or series from the sabbath, after the manner of the Ietws. I meane vntill the seruice after the *Romane* vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope *Syluester*, though other saie by *Constantine*; albeit another sort doe affirme, that *Syluester* caused the sabbath onlie to be called the *Lords day*, and dealt not with the rest.

In like manner of weekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one containing eight and twentie daies, or foure weekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Ietws, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians doe now: neither anie parcel thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither weeke, moneth, nor yere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of mones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure weeks onlie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheless in places and sitates is nothing at all allowed of, with the moone maketh hir full resolution in eight and twentie daies or foure weekes, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherein she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a moze or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but thre, as the *Archadians* did foure, the *Acarnans* six, and the *Aegyptians* but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient *Romane* calender.

In old time each moneth of the *Romane* calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncertaine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after *Julius Cesar* had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euery one of them did not onlie remaine fixed, but

Frisia.

Moneth.

Trinith in Antiochia.

but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaltered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as befoze, into calend, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same bee but small, and their order retained onelie in our calendars, for the better vnderstanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authoꝝ doe remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you see) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusal of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calende*, which in time of paganism were consecrated to Juno, and sacrifice made to that goddess on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were also diuerse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or mishap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceiued of euill successe likelie to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Whereby it appeareth that this pœuilly estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we doe note our holie and festiual daies with red letters in our calendars, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if any good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was already blacke in their calendar, they would solemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioiced.

The word *Calende* (in Græke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Cale*, to call: for vpon the first day of euerie moneth, the priest bled to call the people of the citie and countie together in Calabria, for to the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calend to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betwene that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as seuentē daies, firstē daies, fourthē daies, &c: as the Grækes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calendars. The vertie day therefore of the change is called *Calenda*, dedicated to Juno, who thereof was also called *Calendaria*. At the first also the fasts or feast daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this date, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calendars, contrarie to the will and meaning of the Senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not above foure or five in euerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nones quasi Nundinae*. In them also were neither holidaies more than is at this present (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his businesse, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calend or change, to be the fourth or first date before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nones*, of the word *Non*, quia in illis dii non coluntur. For as Ouid saith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because *Nundina dea* was honoꝝed the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddess far pōnger than the name

of *Nones*) took her name of the nones, whereon it was a custome among the Romans, *Infrares infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maids children vpon the eight: but howsoeuer this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherein the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Hethuscan word, *Idiare*, to diuide: and befoze that Cesar altered the calendar, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middell. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, thereby to make it agree to the yere of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, because he would not alter the celebration of their usuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middell, sometime by two or three daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conueie their merchandise, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calend follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the moone doth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mystery, if you can say so manie daies befoze the next change or new moone, as the number there expressed doth betoken, as for 16 calend so manie daies befoze the next conjunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred). Of these calendars, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuing:

*Ianus & Augustus denas nouēq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse Nouember
Ter senas retinent, Februus bis octo calendās,
Iulius October Mars Maius Eptadecemq;.*

In English thus.

December Iune and August month
full nineteene calend haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twise nine they doe desire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue.
October Maie and Iulie hot
but seuentēne doe require.

In like manner do the nones and ides.

*Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.
To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
six nones I hight,
The rest but foure, and as for ides
they keepe still eight.*

Again touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

*Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq; Nouemq; tricenōs,
Pnumplus reliqui, Februus tenet octo vicenōs,
At si bisextus fuerit super additur vnus.
Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the rest thirtie and one,
but in the leape you must ad one.*

Our yere is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the moone for obseruation of certeine moueable feasts, yet it is reducible to that of the sunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chiefe had in vse. Herein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vni forme and certeine, for most of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calendars the first of Iannarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceiued. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which breedeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Iannarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certainly, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yeare. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell nearest to the entrance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Jewes in civill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calcutte begin their yeare somewhere in September, but upon no daie certaine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happy (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Olorius doth remember, who addeth that upon the eleventh calends of September, they haue sollemne plaies, much like to the doll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yeare also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onely, it shall be enough to affirm that we make our account from the calends or first of Januarie, and from the middell of the night which is *Limet* betwixens that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which containeth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherein the Olimpiads were restored. And so; so much as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euery 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yeers in the period, so that 1460 Julian yeers do containe 1461 after the Egyptians account, whereby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yeare is somewhat too much by certaine minutes, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation trulie found out should be overpassed, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and soveraigne princeesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the yrome and his alteration, which is risen higher by five daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Caesar: and in seauen thousand yeares some twister would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But so; so much as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euery change, it shall suffice to saie no more thereof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue bene at the counsell of Nice. Wherewith as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the *epact*, applying it vnto such generall vse, as doth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also per this time bene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it doth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is some higher toward the beginning of March than Caesars calender now extant doth peld vnto by seauen daies, for as

in Caesars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either upon or about the sixteenth or seauententh of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the five and twentieth of that moneth in their dialls or by eie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must needs fall out to be about the twentieth or one & twentieth of April, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Above the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirm the word *age* to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and significth in English so much as *Seculum* or *Æuum* doth in Latine; neither is it needfull to remember that some of my countymen do reckon their times not by yeares but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Therefore to shut by this chapter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scottish maner, which I haue borrowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

The present names.

Monday.	Freidaie.
Tuesday.	Saturdaie.
Wednesday.	Sunday, or the
Thursday.	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.
Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodnesdeg.	Sunnan-
Thunresdeg.	deg.

The Scottish vsage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yath.	Diu Se-
Diu Ethamon.	roll.

Of our principall faires and markets.

Chap. 15.

Here heretofore said sufficient of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must needs confesse) be scarce comparable to a whole faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore it were no losse if diuerſe of them were abolished. Yet ther do I set whereunto this number of pastrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must needs repaite vnto them, whereby they often spend not onely the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbath in great vanitie and riot. But such hath bene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old er-

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1025 may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as
th at thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the
common localth of our countre anie thing dimini-
shed. In the meane time, take this table here insu-
ing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I
cannot, or at the least wise care not to come by the
names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so
profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft
preiudiciall to such as dwell nere hand to the places
where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that re-
sist vnto the same.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The first day being Twelke day at Saltsburie,
the five and twentieth being saint Paules day,
at Bishpsho, at Grauesend, at Churchingford, at Por-
thalerion in Dorsetshire, where is kept a faire euerie
wednesday from Whitsmalle vntill Iune.

Faires in Februarie.

The first day at Bromleie. The second at Lin, at
Bath, at Spaldstone, at Bickleworth, at Bud-
worth. The fourteenth at Feuertham. On Ashwed-
nesday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Kossion, at
Crecster, at Abington, at Crecster. The foure and
twentieth at Henlie vpon Thames, at Lewkesburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelth day, at Stamford, Sapefford, and
at Sudburie. The thirtenth day at Wile, at the
Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift sunday
in Lent, at Grantham, at Salisburie. On monday
before our ladie day in Lent, at Wilsch, at Ken-
dall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday euen, at
Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The
twentieth day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent
at Portsmouth, at Malden, at great Chart, at Peter-
castell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And
at Saffron Walden on midlent Sunday.

Faires in Aprill.

The fift day at Wallingford. The seuen at
Darbie. The ninth at Bickleworth, at Belinf-
worth. On monday after, at Eueham in Worces-
tershire. On tuesday in Easter weke at Poxheist,
at Kochford, at Hichin. The thirde sunday after
Easter, at Louth. The two and twentieth at Stabford.
On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at
Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hunningham, at Gilsford,
at saint Pombes in Cornewall. On saint Parkes
day at Darbie, at Dunmole in Essex. The six and
twentieth at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Maie daie at Rippon, at Perin in Cornwall,
at Westrie in Wales, at Lerkeld in Suffolke,
at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Gens-
ford, at Spaldstone, at Bichehill, at Blackeboorne, at
Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The thirde at Bram-
yard, at Henningham, at Elstow, at Waltham, at Hol-
crose, at Hedningham castell. The seuen at Be-
uerleie, at Hewton, at Drford. On Ascension day
at Petercastell, at Perne, at Bimechame, at saint
Coes, at Bishop Stratford, at Wilcham, at Spiddle-
wich, at Stopford, at Chapell frith. On Whitsun-
euen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitsunday,
at Richell, at Cribbie, and euerie wednesday for-
night at Kingston vpon Thames, at Katesdale, at
Kirbistepin in Westmerland. On monday in

Whitsunweke, at Darington, at Crecster, at Brad-
ford, at Kigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at White-
church, at Cockermonth, at Applebie, at Bickle-
worth, at Stokerclare. On tuesday in Whitsun-
weke, at Lewse, at Kochford, at Canturburie, at
Dimeskirke, at Perith, at long Pilford. On wed-
nesday in Whitsunweke, at Sandbarre, at Kalfson.
On Trinitie sunday, at Bendall, and at Kowell. On
thursday after Trinitie sunday, at Pelscote, at
Stapford, at saint Annes, at Peterburie, at Couen-
trie, at saint Cdes, at Bishop Stratford, at Kasse. The
ninth at Rochester, at Dunstable. The twentieth se-
uenth day, at Lenham. The twentieth ninth at Cram-
booke. On monday in Rogation weke at Kech,
and sunday after Ascension day, at Charsted.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Patostone. The xj, at Dking-
ham, at Peterborough, at Wardfield, at Sparfield,
& Holt. The seuenteenth at Hadstocke. The twentieth
thre at Shrewsburie, at saint Albans. The twentieth
fourth day, at Hozham, at Bedell, at Strackstocke,
at saint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Kea-
ding, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge,
at Wollerhampton, at Crambooke, at Gloucester,
at Lincoln, at Peterborough, at Windso, at Har-
stone, at Lancaster, at Westchester, at Hallfar, at
Ashborne. The twentieth seuenth, at Folkestone. The
twentie eight, at Peterborne, at saint Pombes. The
twentie ninth, at Woodhurst, at Parleborough, at
Holleworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at
Lempster, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Brom-
leie.

Faires in Iulie.

The second at Congreton, at Ashton vnder line.
The sunday after the thirde of Iulie, at Kalfson.
The seuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftenth,
at Pichbacke. The seuententh, at Windcombe.
The twentieth, at Uryldge, at Catesbie, at Bolton.
The twentieth two, at Parleborough, at Winchester, at
Colchester, at Tetburie, at Coling, at Pealdon, at
Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheshire,
at Chelwike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The
twentie fift, at Bissow, at Douer, at Chilham, at
Darbie, at Ipswich, at Portsmouth, at Dobleie in
Staffordshire, at saint James beside London, at
Reading, at Cresh in the Ile, at Walden, at
Themball, at Baldoche, at Louth, at Palmesburie,
at Bromleie, at Chichester, at Luerpole, at Alter-
gam, at Kauenglasse in the north. The twentieth first, at
Tiptrie. The twentieth seuenth at Canturburie, at
Hozham, at Richmund in the north, at Waring-
ton, at Chapell frith.

Faires in August.

The first day at Crecster, at Feuertham, at
Dunstable, at saint Cdes, at Bedford, at Por-
tham church, at Wilsch, at Poxhe, at Kunneneie, at
Hewton, at Peland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth
at Waltham, at Charsted, at Blackemoze, at Hun-
gerford, at Bedford, at Strobes, at Fernam, at S.
Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croisleie, at
Seddell, at new Bainsford. The xvj, at Cambridge,
at Dunmole, at Caerleill, at Pelson in Andall, at
Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the sun-
day after the fiftenth day of August, at Hauerhull,
On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggars
bush beside Kie, at Leukesburie, at Sudburie, at
Kie, at Pantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Por-
wich, at Porthalerion, at Douer. On the sunday
after

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentieth seventh, and at Ashford.

Faires in September.

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Wolspit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Sunde, at Recluer, at Cusbourne both the ladies dates, at Partnetre. The three ladies dates at Blackeburne, at Cusborne in Dorsetshire, at Chalton, at Worcester. On Holyrode day, at Richmond in Dorsetshire, at Rippond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Berleie, at Waltham abbey, at Wotton under hedge, at Smalbing, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Harleborough, at Bedford, at Crodon, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Hulton, at saint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Wiltall, at Sittingbourne, at Baimettie, at Baldoche, at Katharine hill beside Gifford, at Dour, at Castric. The twentieth ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Hulton a noble horse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermonth, at Ashborne, at Wableie, at Walden a horse faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The first day at saint Mathies beside Norwich, at Spaldone. The eighth day at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Koston, at Cratesend, at Wiltford, at Partshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes euen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Wpane, at Wirt, at Widgeonoth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton upon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Fristwides in Dorset, at Wiltale, at Widdlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentieth one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Worcester, at Stokeleie. The twentieth third, at Preston, at Wikelthoroth, at Kitchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentieth eight, at Newmarket, and at Hertford. On all saints euen, at Wakefield, and at Kithen.

Faires in Nouember.

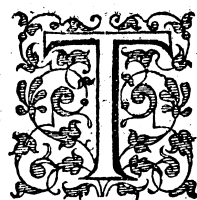
The second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Parfield, at Cpping. The first day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Leford, and Wiltod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleventh, at Harleborough, at Dour. The thirteenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gifford. The seventeenth day, at Low, at Wbe. The nineteenth, at Worsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Wilt, at Ingerstone. The twentieth third day, at Sandwich. On saint Andrews day at Colingbrough, at Rochester, at Peterfield, at Waidenbed, at Wetoleie, at Warrington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Dorsetshire, at Wessrie in Wales, and at Wobles Belcham.

Faires in December.

On the first day, at Pluckeleie. On the first, at Caesed, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Worcester, at Sinoche, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheshire. The seventh day at Sandhurst. The eighth day being the conception of our lady, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Palpas in Cheshire. The twentieth ninth, at Canturburie, and at Salford.

Of four innes and thorowfares.

Chap. 16.



Those townes that we call thorowfares haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such traouellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouing therein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or godman of the house doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his ghests, but cleane otherwise, for euery man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapistrie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen used at the tables, which is commonlie washed daile, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Each commor is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath bene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traoueller haue an horse, his bed doth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the harte with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he lose ought whilst he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for traouellers than in the greatest inns of England. Their horses in like sort are walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostlers or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the godman of the house, who in hope of extraordinary reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward apperance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheless are manie of their blameworthy, in that they do not onelie deceiue the beast owners of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners loke well to them; but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after prey (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he traouelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberlains is not selde be hind or wanting. Certes I beleue not that chappman or traoueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he cometh into the inne, & alighteth from his horse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yerd from his saddle bow, which he pisseth litle in his hand to fele the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the ghest hath taken by his chamber, the chamberlaine that looketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more convenientlie some where else, whereby he getteth an inking whether it be monie or other thori wares, & therof giueth warning to such of his ghests as haue the house and are of his confederacie, to the better vndoing of manie an honest person as he lonneth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part doth marke his behaviour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paierh the host, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtilie practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their coming to the godman of the house: but thereby they off be-
wate

waie themselves. For albeit their monie be safe for the tyme that it is in his hands (for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the host can make no warrantie of the same, fith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house: and there cannot be a surer token vnto such as pye and watch for those boties, than to see anie ghest deliuer his capcase in such manner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, bere, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacite of some of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred persons, and their hostes at ease, & therto with a verie short warning make such provision for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may seme to be incredible. Whobeyt of all in England there are no worse ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I haue heard of in anie foren countrie, if all circumstances be dulie considered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpose. I will here set downe a table of the best thowwfares and towones of greatest trauell of England, in some of which there are twelue or firtene such innes at the least, as I before did speake of. And it is a woold to see how ech owner of them contendeth with other for godnesse of intertainment of their ghests, as about finesse & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of rooms, seruice at the table, coslinesse of plate, strenght of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vsing of hostes. Finallye there is not so much omitted among them as the gorgeousnes of their verie signes at their doores, wherein some do consume thirtie or fortye pounds, a mere banitie in mine opinion, but so vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue some outward token of the inne keepers welth, but also to procure god ghests to the frequenting of their houses in hope there to be well vsed. So here the table now at hand, for moze of our innes I shall not need to speake.

The waie from Walsingham
to London.

From Walsingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonerie	10.miles
From Brandonerie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Babbam	10.miles
From Babbam to Barkelwaie	20.miles
From Barkelwaie to Burchich	7.miles
From Burchich to Ware	3.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke,
and so to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Antwoke	12.miles
From Antwoke to Pozpit	12.miles
From Pozpit to Newcastell	12.miles
From Newcastell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darlington	13.miles
From Darlington to Pozthalerston	14.miles
From Pozthalerston to Topleife	7.miles
From Topleife to Pozke	16.miles
From Pozke to Tadcaster	8.miles
From Tadcaster to Wanthbydye	12.miles
From Wanthbydye to Dancaster	8.miles
From Dancaster to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newwarke	10.miles
From Newwarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntingdon	9.miles
From Huntingdon to Rolston	15.miles

From Rolston to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to
Chester, and so to London.

From Carnaruan to Contwaie	24.miles
From Contwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Chester	10.miles
From Chester to Wlich	14.miles
From Wlich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colfill	12.miles
From Colfill to Couentrie	8.miles
And so from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth,	

The waie from Cockermouth to
Lancaster, and so to London.

From Cockermouth to Bistwike	6.miles
From Bistwike to Crocener	8.miles
From Crocener to Bendale	14.miles
From Bendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaster	8.miles
From Lancaster to Preston	20.miles
From Preston to Wigan	14.miles
From Wigan to Warrington	20.miles
From Warrington to Newcastell	20.miles
From Newcastell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Loecester	10.miles
From Loecester to Stonistratford	6.miles
From Stonistratford to Bichill	7.miles
From Bichill to Dunstable	7.miles
From Dunstable to saint Albons	10.miles
From saint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London.	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colche-
rer, and so to London.

From Yarmouth to Beccles	8.miles
From Beccles to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapshyde	8.miles
From Snapshyde to Woddydye.	8.miles
From Woddydye to Ipswich	5.miles
From Ipswich to Colchester	12.miles
From Colchester to Caistord	8.miles
From Caistord to Chelmsford	10.miles
From Chelmsford to Bwentwood	10.miles
From Bwentwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rochester	8.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend to Watford	6.miles
From Watford to London	12.miles

The waie from saint Burien in Corne-
wall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurte	12.miles
From saint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launstone	20.miles
From Launstone to Dcomton	15.miles
From Dcomton to Crokehozneuell	10.miles
From	

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From Crokehorne to Creester	10. miles	From Hethilford to Whatleie	6. miles
From Creester to Honiton	12. miles	From Whatleie to Driford	4. miles
From Honiton to Chard	10. miles		
From Chard to Crokehorne	7. miles		
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	10. miles		
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie	10. miles		
From Shaftsburie to Salisburie	18. miles		
From Salisburie to Andenot	15. miles		
From Andenot to Basingstoke	18. miles		
From Basingstoke to Hartford	8. miles		
From Hartford to Bagshot	8. miles		
From Bagshot to Stanes	8. miles		
From Stanes to London	15. miles		

The waie from Bristowe
to London.

From Bristow to Parsfield	10. miles
From Parsfield to Chipnam	10. miles
From Chipnam to Parleborough	15. miles
From Parleborough to Hungerford	8. miles
From Hungerford to Newburie	7. miles
From Newburie to Reading	15. miles
From Reading to Maidenhead.	10. miles
From Maidenhead to Colbyoke	7. miles
From Colbyoke to London	15. miles

The waie from saint Dauids
to London.

From saint Dauids to Arford	20. miles
From Arford to Carmarden	10. miles
From Carmarden to Melton	10. miles
From Melton to Lanburie	10. miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke	16. miles
From Brechnocke to Haie	10. miles
From Haie to Harford	14. miles
From Harford to Kolo	9. miles
From Kolo to Gloucester	12. miles
From Gloucester to Cicester	15. miles
From Cicester to Farington	16. miles
From Farington to Haddington	7. miles
From Haddington to Dorchester	7. miles
From Dorchester to Henleie	12. miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead	7. miles
From Maidenhead to Colbyoke	7. miles
From Colbyoke to London	15. miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer
to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie	12. miles
From Canturburie to Wotcheffer	20. miles
From Wotcheffer to Grauesend	5. miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames, to Horne-	4. miles
don	
From Hornedon to Chelmsford	12. miles
From Chelmsford to Dunmow	10. miles
From Dunmow to Harsted	5. miles
From Harsted to Radwinter	3. miles
From Radwinter to Linton	5. miles
From Linton to Babzenham	3. miles
From Babzenham to Cambridge	4. miles

From Canturburie to
Oxford.

From Canturburie to London	43. miles
From London to Urbridge or Colbyoke	15. mile
From Urbridge to Waccansfield	7. miles
From Waccansfield to east Wickham	5. miles
From Wickham to Stocking church	5. miles
From Stocking church to Hethilford	5. miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton	6. miles
From Edmondton to Waltham	6. miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon	5. miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware	3. miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch	5. miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barketwaite	7. miles
From Barketwaite to Fulmere	6. miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge	6. miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddesdon	17. miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham	7. miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden	12. miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge	10. miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of
Reginald Wolfes his annotations.From Barwijc to Eden-
borow.

From Barwijc to Chirneside	10. miles
From Chirneside to Colddingham	3. miles
From Colddingham to Pinketon	6. miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre	6. miles
From Dunbarre to Linton	6. miles
From Linton to Haddington	6. miles
From Haddington to Seaton	4. miles
From Seaton to Aberladye or Puskelbozow	8. mi.
From thence to Edenborow	8. miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc
another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalkeith	5. miles
From Dalkeith to new Battell & Lander	5. miles
From Lander to Arslidon	6. miles
From Arslidon to Dyburg	5. miles
From Dyburg to Cariton	6. miles
From Cariton to Barwijc	14. miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittain-
westward.

From Edenborow to Birkeliffon	6. miles
From Birkeliffon to Lifford	6. miles
From Lifford to Farekirke ouer Forth	6. miles
From thence to Striuelin upon Forth	6. miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittain	24. miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne
eastward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Penketh	3. miles
From Downe to Campkenell	3. miles
From Campkenell to Albie upon Forth	4. miles
From Albie to Culrose on Fife	10. miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin	2. miles
From Dunfermelin to Curkennin	2. miles
From Curkennin to Aberdoze on Forth	3. miles
From Aberdoze to Kinghorne upon Forth	3. miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fife	3. miles
From Dissard to Colwyer	8. miles
From	

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From Colwyper to S. Andzeus 14. miles
From S. Andzeus to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbey 4. mil.
From thence to Londoze abbey 4. miles
From Londoze to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundee 15. miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Huros 24. miles
From Huros to Aberdeen 20. miles
From Aberdeen to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thence to the river of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rolfe, and so to the Belfe of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill over the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfræs 20. miles
From Dunfræs to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wiltgon 3. miles
From thence to Wytherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I with adioine the old thozow-faires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue sene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearfall of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO

Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia* m. p. xix
Cataraconi m. p. xxii
Isurium m. p. xxi
Eburacum legio vi
Deruentione m. p. vii
Delgoutia m. p. xiii
Prætorio m. p. xxv

Vindonia Vindonia
Dartington.
Bibbozow alias Topcliffe.
Victrix m. p. xvii York.
Cadcaster.
Wentbridge.
Euford.

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Lugu-vallo* m. p. xii aliàs à Lugu-vallo. Carleill.
Voreda m. p. xiiii
Brouonacis* m. p. xiii Branoniaci
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataracone* m. p. xxi Casuactonum. Dartington.
Isuriam* m. p. xxi Isuriam. Bibbozow alias Topcliffe.
Eburacum* m. p. xviii Eboracum. York.
Calcaria* m. p. ix
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio* m. p. xvi Mammucio
Condate m. p. xviii

Deua legio xxxiii. ci. m. p. xx
Bouio* m. p. x Bonio
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio* m. p. xi Virdeconium, Shirewobouris propri.
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
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Vero-Lanio m. p. xii Albanes.
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Dancaster.
Segeloco

Vernemeto

Dunstable.
S. Albanes.
Barnet.
London.

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Brige

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